

Stakeholder Expectations of Interpreters:

A Multi-Site, Multi-Method Approach

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Abstract

This thesis uses a multi-method approach to examine the expectations of interpreting stakeholders in two different multilingual church organisations. Drawing on concepts from skopos theory and homiletics and on methodologies and findings from research on client expectations and interpreters' perceptions of their work, it posits a four part correlational model to explain and predict how the skopos of an interpreted event will relate to stakeholders' generic and event-specific expectations of interpreters. Results from a survey, interviews and participant observations all suggest that, contrary to existing theory, there is little evidence of a direct relationship between skopos and expectations of interpreters. On the contrary, it appears that organisational attitudes to interpreting are a much more salient factor in the conceptualisation of the work of interpreters and on the strategies they are expected to use to solve problems. The implications of these results for church interpreting research, theories of interpreting and interpreting practice are discussed, alongside the need to rethink and redesign the methods used in stakeholder expectations research, especially when this involves the use of surveys.

Dedication

This one is for God and for all church interpreters worldwide.

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Declaration

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and research question

For more than twenty-five years, researchers have sought to understand what clients want from conference interpreters, yet in many ways, it seems as if the search has only just begun. As the next chapter will explain, the simplicity of the earliest studies has slowly given way to multi-layered, multi-method studies that have not only uncovered unexpected complexity but have fundamentally challenged the assumptions behind earlier research. This thesis therefore takes place within a context in which tools are still being created, theories are still being constructed and results are being re-examined. Basic questions are still being posed. Whose expectations of interpreting matter? What questions should researchers ask? How should these questions be asked? How should the data generated by these questions be analysed and understood? These and other questions like them underscore a need for researchers of stakeholder expectations of interpreters to rethink how they do research. This rethinking also involves exploring how such research can add value to the ongoing exploration of the relationship between the contexts in which interpreters work and the work that they produce.

While stakeholder expectations work is dealing with fundamental challenges, a new area of interpreting research is appearing. Interpreting in religious settings, an activity largely ignored until the middle of the last decade, is now growing quickly as a field of research. Work from three continents on interpreting in bilingual and multilingual religious gatherings spanning 2,500 years of history has begun to demonstrate the potential of such work for Interpreting Studies as a whole. Basic ideas such as neutrality and loyalty have been reviewed and redefined. Even such commonplace assumptions as the view that different interpreted events can be classified into distinct types and that researchers can and should aspire to objectivity have been questioned.

The vast majority of this new work on interpreting in religious settings has concentrated on interpreting in bilingual or multilingual churches. Here, where interpreters regularly work with the same participants and speakers and where the modes and equipment familiar to professional conference interpreting are often used, being an interpreter seems to go hand-in-hand with performing other roles, such as being a church member, a teacher or even a

mediator of potential conflicts. In such cases, the interpreter's religious affiliation is often thought to be of greater importance to stakeholders than their professional qualifications. As will become clear later (section 4.1), studies of church interpreting have almost universally found that stakeholders of church interpreting emphasise the ability of interpreters to align themselves with the message brought by the speaker over any other element of their performance.

Though they may appear to be far apart, research on stakeholder expectations of conference interpreters and research on church interpreting therefore face similar problems. Both need to develop theories and methods that can provide adequate frameworks for generating and analysing data on their particular field of research. Both attempt to understand how the context of an interpreting assignment impinges on the work of interpreters.

Perhaps the most important difference between the two lies at the level of assumptions. As section 2.2 will attempt to show, for much of the history of stakeholder expectations research, it has been assumed that the best way to understand the wishes of stakeholders is to begin with the values already held within the professional interpreting community. Indeed, the paper widely recognised as the first such study (Kurz, 1989) was based on earlier research of the views of members of the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC), the world's largest professional association for conference interpreters. The pattern was then set that researchers, who were often also professional interpreters themselves, would set a list of criteria for stakeholders to respond to, rather than attempting to discover what criteria stakeholders actually felt were relevant.

With a few exceptions (see section 8.2.1), church interpreting research has taken a very different approach. Given how little was known about this practice until very recently, researchers have tended to take more descriptive, but not necessarily less committed approaches (see section 4.1.4). Researchers have sought to understand how church interpreting relates to wider church practice, why church interpreters seem to be expected to play a more overt role in the events at which they interpret and how their role is related to that of the speakers with whom they work. Church interpreting practice and research therefore seems to have developed outside the pre-existing value systems that are prevalent in professional interpreting practice and research (see sections 2.2.3 and 4.1). It therefore forms a useful testing ground for any attempt to understand the expectations that stakeholders have

of interpreters since these are less likely to have been affected by prevailing professional norms.

As mentioned above, work on both stakeholder expectations of interpreters and on church interpreting seems to have reached a point where there is a perceived need for some kind of overarching theoretical framework. One of the objectives of this thesis (see section 1.3) is the creation and testing of such a framework. The starting point for this was the connection already made in stakeholder expectations research between the claims of skopos theory and the quest for understanding the factors underlying these expectations. This connection is explored more fully in sections 3.2 and 3.4 but at its core is the hypothesis that a stakeholder's expectations of an event will affect their expectations of the interpreters who work there. The clearest and most sophisticated account of this is found in the work of Franz Pöchhacker (1995, 2007), who has built a model to illustrate the hypothesised relationship between the purpose (or skopos) of an event, the texts presented during it and the work of interpreters in producing target language versions of these texts.

In this thesis, church interpreting is used as a test case of a modified version of this model, following recent developments in stakeholder expectations research and research on church interpreting. The latter stream of research has traditionally concentrated on how sermons are interpreted within church services, given that sermons are often viewed as the key texts within such events. Understanding these texts requires the addition of theoretical and empirical work from Theology and specifically from homiletics, the study of sermons. As section 4.2 seeks to explain, much recent work in homiletics has concentrated on how sermons are experienced and understood by the audience who receive them – a theme which is of direct relevance to this thesis. Integrating insights from such work into the theoretical framework and the data analysis therefore allows for the exploration of themes, such as the interpreter's personal commitment and their alignment with participants that have not often been studied in previous stakeholder expectations research (one counterexample of the latter theme being Angelelli, 2004).

The aim of producing such a hybrid, multidisciplinary model was not just to provide an initial theoretical framework for stakeholder expectations research but to create a model that could be used by practising interpreters as they seek to work in ways that will meet or even exceed the expectations of their clients. While this might suggest that such a model should posit a

straightforward relationship of “clients of type x want you to do y”, the complex and even contradictory nature of the expectations uncovered in recent research mitigates against such an approach. Instead, what seems to be necessary is a framework that posits how one aspect of a stakeholder’s expectations (such as their view of the purpose of the event) affects another aspect (such as expectations of how interpreters will solve specific problems). This relational approach attempts to map trends in stakeholder expectations rather than predicting exactly what they will be. As such, it allows the creation of heuristics, or rules-of-thumb, that nonetheless offer helpful insights into the context in which the interpreter(s) will work. The focus of this thesis is precisely on such trends and the factors that may produce them, rather than on the specific expectations held by any individual stakeholder.

Positing that one aspect of stakeholder expectations will affect another is therefore involves making one or more predictive hypotheses (see Chesterman, 2010, pp. 8–9 for a discussion of such hypotheses). Yet to make such hypotheses, it is necessary to start with a wider theory that is itself predictive, at least in part. A particularly clear candidate for such a theory, and one with an existing history, albeit limited, of use in stakeholder expectations, is skopos theory. Its most basic hypothesis – that the purpose of an act of Translation will affect the strategies used by the Translator – posits the existence of two variables and argues that one will affect the other. Later expansions of this hypothesis took into account the expectations of text receivers and related quite closely to the attempts by some researchers of client expectations to understand the source of these expectations (see sections 2.2.1 and 3.1.1).

The use of skopos theory in this thesis is therefore based upon its use in some earlier client expectations research but, more fundamentally, upon the nature of the theory itself. While both the claims and logic of skopos theory have been challenged (see section 3.3), it still offers a series of hypotheses which appear testable and in this thesis, the testability of the underlying framework is of paramount importance, given the decision to attempt to move away from descriptive accounts of specific cases towards the creation of wider predictive heuristics. In other words, skopos theory is particularly suitable for use in this thesis as it provides the kinds of hypotheses that are helpful for mapping the factors underlying stakeholder expectations.

Mapping the factors underlying expectations also requires more sophisticated methodological tools than have hitherto been available in stakeholder expectations research, since the

traditional focus has been on attempting to pin down clients' definitive expectations at a given event (see section 2.2). Thus, instead of presenting the data on how respondents answered each survey item or responded to a given interview question, this thesis adopts the approach of statistical modelling, a mathematical technique for inferring the relationships between variables. Such techniques provide an initial numerical picture of how related the variables seem to be in mathematical terms, which can then be compared against the relationship between them that seems apparent through other methods (see section 6.2).

Taking into account the focus on the factors behind stakeholder expectations and the need for such an account to be theoretically-sound, the principal research question is therefore as follows:

- To what extent does the hypertext skopos of an interpreted event affect the expectations that stakeholders have of interpreters?

1.2 Key definitions and scope

The first and most obvious key term to define is the hypertext skopos of an event. In section 1.1, it was stated that skopos theory and specifically the work of Franz Pöchhacker (1995, 2007) has hypothesised that the purpose of an event will have an effect on the work of interpreters. The term “hypertext skopos” was therefore used in such work to emphasise that an event is composed of several texts, making the work of conference interpreters different from the work of translators, who work on single, mostly discrete texts. The “hypertext skopos” is therefore the purpose of the event, which ties together and gives purpose to each of the individual texts presented during it (see section 3.2.1 for a more detailed discussion).

The repeated use of the word “stakeholder” and its plural form raises the need to clarify and define this term too. As chapter 2 will explain, work on the expectations of interpreting clients – that is, anyone who uses but does not provide interpreting – largely developed separately in both chronological and political terms from work on what interpreters expect of their own practice and that of fellow professionals. In fact, section 2.1 will discuss how the two streams of research were often viewed as opposed to one another. Yet, the work of interpreters is always connected in some way to that of their clients. The client speaks or signs, the interpreter interprets. Scholars such as Diriker (2004) and Eraslan (2011) have

taken the view that this means that, if we are to understand the contexts in which interpreters work, it is necessary to take account of both clients' expectations and interpreters' views of their work. The term "stakeholders" is therefore employed deliberately in this thesis to cover anyone who has any presence or impact on the event including interpreters, speakers, audience members and leaders of the organisations under whose auspices the event takes place.

This thesis focusses on the factors underlying the expectations that these stakeholders hold of interpreting in specific authentic situations. These "expectations" refer to those views, requirements and criteria that stakeholders say they hold regarding the work and personal characteristics of interpreters. As section 2.2 outlines, such expectations are held to be distinct from the ways that stakeholders evaluate interpreting after it has taken place, even if, as evident from the data presented in 7.3 and 7.4, the evaluation of past interpreting does seem to play a role in the expectations of future interpreting. The precise nature of the relationship between expectations and evaluation is a matter for future work.

The term "authentic situations" is here used to refer to interpreting situations that were not created by or for the researcher and would have taken place whether or not he was present. The main outcome of this is that, unlike studies of interpreting in controlled, laboratory conditions, no attempt was made to control the variables that could affect stakeholder expectations and neither was such control possible. Instead of controlling for key variables, the work of the researcher concentrated on attempting to measure those variables that were deemed to be important by existing theory and to the extent that was possible with the methods used. Yet, as sections 6.1 and 6.4 will discuss, it is not feasible to read the data collected in this study as a set of measurements made by perfect research instruments used by an objective researcher. Instead, the very presence of the researcher within the authentic situations studied proved to be both a source of insights and a potential source of bias.

The authentic situations explored in this thesis are all instances of church interpreting. For the purposes of this thesis, church interpreting will be deemed to cover all interpreting between two or more spoken or signed languages commissioned by any organisation calling itself a church. The specific focus within this broad category is interpreting within events hosted and run by protestant churches. Two specific churches were chosen as they shared much in common in terms of theological perspectives, both holding to beliefs associated with the

Pentecostal/charismatic tradition and both requiring significant volumes of interpreting due to the nature of their work. The first, International Evangelism Network¹ (shortened to IEN throughout) held its annual European youth conference and Europe and Eurasia conference in a coastal city in the south of England in 2012 and I attended both events to collect data. IEN was a natural starting point for research, given that it was there that I first encountered interpreting and it was there that I interpreted for the first time. This, coupled with the church's explicitly international vision, made it a useful "data outcropping" (Luker, 2009, pp. 103–104, 231) as it seemed to be an example of the same kind of outward-focussed interpreting found in the work of Cécile Vigouroux (2010 and see chapter 4 of this thesis).

At the time of study, IEN had churches in more than 40 countries and it was not unusual to see interpreting into three or more languages at the Europe and Eurasia conference, which normally attracted 200-300 people. The second church, Centrum Lebendiges Wort (shortened to CLW throughout), is found in Bonn, Germany and includes members from more than 50 countries. CLW came to my attention due to personal connections and seemed to represent a similar, though more regular, data outcropping to IEN. At the point in the study when CLW was chosen, there was a felt need to discover a site with guaranteed regular interpreting and an international vision similar to that of IEN – criteria which CLW was deemed to fit.

During my visit, the church held two multilingual services every Sunday and a three day off-site conference, under the auspices of their International Pastor, Daniel Ondieke. Interpreting was provided into up to six languages during the Sunday services, depending on the number of interpreters on the rota and bidirectionally between English and German at the conference. Estimated attendance figures for the church services are found in my field notes. It was expected that the similarities between the two churches would lead to similar results but, as chapter 7 explains, this was not the case. Understanding the reasons for these differences became a major goal of the data analysis.

In CLW, interpreting was provided in two distinct modes, which themselves require to be defined. The form of simultaneous interpreting used in both CLW and IEN involved the interpreter(s) sitting in soundproof booths, producing their interpreted version while the source language speaker was still speaking. Their interpreted version was then received by

¹ This is not the real name of the church. Both the name of the church itself and of all the participants in the events at which I gathered data have been anonymised.

the target language audience on wireless headsets. During the CLW conferences, another form of interpreting, here named “short consecutive interpreting” was used. In this mode, the interpreter stands alongside the preacher and delivers their output in short bursts, whose frequency and duration are delimited by the deliberate pauses of the source language speaker. While this does lead to the overall length of the sermon increasing, it also affords the preacher opportunities to interact with the interpreter – opportunities that were eagerly taken up by several speakers (see section 7.4.1.1).

The use of simultaneous interpreting places church interpreting on the border of two widely studied clusters of interpreting settings. The first cluster is that of conference interpreting, which tends to involve simultaneous interpreting. Conference interpreting settings can cover events as varied as international political summits to small specialist workshops (Gile, 1989). These settings tend to involve encounters between different linguistic and cultural communities, placing them towards the “inter-social” end of Pöchhacker’s (2004b, p. 15) continuum of interpreted settings. Pöchhacker (*ibid*, p. 17) also posits that conference interpreting tends to involve people of comparable status receiving largely monologic texts delivered by one person to many.

The other, end of this continuum, covers events that arise in heterolingual societies where people speaking one language need access to services, such as healthcare and education, that are provided in another. These settings are often labelled “community interpreting” (*ibid*, p. 15). Community interpreting, in Pöchhacker’s scheme (*ibid*, p. 17) tends to involve a power differential with the event being a face-to-face, one-to-one interaction, often between a speaker of a minority language and a representative of an institution where the majority or national language is spoken.

Within research on community interpreting, emphasis has often fallen on how the success of an interpreted event can depend on the interpreter’s knowledge of the norms and expectations of both the source and target communities (e.g. Clifford, 2004). This need for knowledge of the social norms of both groups has also been shown to be prominent in church interpreting (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3) yet Hokkanen (2012, pp. 297–298) has argued that church interpreting sits rather uncomfortably within Pöchhacker’s “intra-social” interpreting (2004b, p. 15) given the use of simultaneous interpreting, the variety of discourse types present and the lack of a hierarchy between participants. Thus, while church interpreting does involve interpreting within a community, it also shares features with conference interpreting.

1.3 The position of the researcher

While it remains logistically feasible to carry out research on stakeholder expectations without ever visiting the event in which they arise, this approach makes it much harder to understand how these expectations shape and are shaped by the events at which they arise. This is not simply a theoretical point but one with methodological and epistemological implications. On the methodological side, as well as providing a rationale for the use of participant observation, it privileges immersion in the environment over a detached, impartial approach. In terms of epistemology, it suggests that picturing the researcher as an outsider, whose voice can be used to pass judgment on the views of stakeholders (as in, for example, Gile, 1990, pp. 70–71) is questionable. Attending the event, the researcher takes on the position of an audience member, or in some cases, that of interpreter or even speaker. Whatever the pre-existing status of the researcher, their entry into the field therefore entails becoming part of one of the stakeholder groups, as discovered by Vigouroux (2010, p. 347).

The challenge of this approach to stakeholder expectations would therefore seem to be that it requires the researcher to reveal their own pre-existing ideological and theoretical dispositions as part of the research process since these will be inextricably linked with how they gather and interpret data. In my own case, this begins with my position as both a professional conference interpreter and a practising Evangelical Christian with around seventeen years of preaching experience. While chapter 6 will examine the effects of this on the research process in a more detailed manner, at this point, it is important to note that I cannot pretend to be a neutral observer of any of the events at which I gathered data. This is especially the case since I was part of a church that belonged to the IEN grouping for all of my teenage years and early twenties, a time which included my first experience of interpreting, and first came across CLW a little over a decade ago when my girlfriend, now my wife, attended that church during a year abroad.

My Christian identity and preaching experience were no doubt in play during the two field studies, as explored in chapter 6, yet so too was my experience as an interpreter. The most obvious manifestation of this was when I was asked to lead an interpreter training session in CLW. However, this experience also came to the fore when I was surprisingly asked to interpret during the IEN conference and in my analysis of some of the difficulties faced by interpreters working simultaneously in CLW.

While there would seem to be a risk of these two perspectives overwhelming my position as a researcher, I took deliberate measures to try to ensure that this did not take place. Foremost among this was the physical separation of my researcher identity from the Christian identity in the use of two notepads at the events: one for research notes and one for personal sermon notes. This became a physical symbol of the reflexivity that I found necessary at all points in the research process and which became a regular feature of my field notes. Often, this reflexivity involved explicitly stating the influence of my own background on my data gathering and analysis. In addition, I felt it necessary to note down and discuss moments where either utterances from speakers or the running order of any of the events threatened my position as a researcher. These are discussed more fully in section 6.4.

1.4 Aim and objectives

This thesis has a single aim and three objectives. The aim is as follows:

- To provide a theoretically-motivated and empirically-sound account of the factors underlying stakeholder expectations in IEN and CLW.

The objectives are as follows:

- To construct and test a multidisciplinary framework for modelling the relationship between hypertext skopos, expectations of source texts and expectations of interpreters.
- To test the application of methods and theories from stakeholder expectations research to provide insights into expectations of church interpreters.
- To test the use of statistical modelling as a tool for improving the reliability and insightfulness of surveys of stakeholder expectations.

Achieving this aim and these objectives depends on integrating insights from three separate areas of study and analysing complex data from three methods. The last section of this chapter will outline how each other chapter of this thesis aids this process. Each of these objectives helps achieve the aim by providing and testing the tools necessary to create an

account of stakeholder expectations which tests and evaluates established theoretical accounts with authentic data, gathered in a critical and rigorous manner.

The multidisciplinary framework used in this study integrates insights and methodological tools from Interpreting Studies, Marketing, and Homiletics. It was felt that such an approach was necessary given that church interpreting exhibits characteristics that are shared with other forms of interpreting, while reflecting the theological and homiletical concerns of its stakeholders (see chapter 4 for a detailed discussion). The contribution of Marketing to this study is entirely in the form of the statistical modelling tool used to test the survey data – a tool which, as chapter 6 discusses, seems very well suited to the small samples that are common in field work in Interpreting Studies.

1.5 Chapter summaries

Chapter 2 begins the journey towards the construction of a testable model by describing previous work on stakeholder expectations of interpreters and the controversies such work has engendered. These controversies have centred on whether researchers should prefer the perspectives of interpreters or those of their clients when looking to produce a reliable picture of the criteria for good interpreting and on the most reliable methods for generating and analysing data. After a brief introduction to the common rationales for client expectations research, the chapter summarises previous work in this area and seeks to explain why client expectations work reduced in frequency towards the middle of the last decade. The reasons for this reduction in frequency are paired with insights from the few more recent studies to provide an account of how client expectations work might be fruitfully integrated with work on the views of interpreters, which is also summarised in this chapter. The chapter ends with a discussion of how more recent work on client expectations provides a helpful distinction between generic and event-specific expectations of interpreters and how this distinction is used in this thesis.

Chapter 3 moves away from empirical work to look at the key claims and development of skopos theory, which forms the theoretical backbone of the model. Discussion then moves to attempts to apply skopos theory to interpreting in the work of Franz Pöchhacker. Differences of opinion between skopos theorists are explored and compared with criticisms from those

who hold different theoretical perspectives. This chapter ends with an attempt to integrate and assimilate these criticisms into the model by modifying Pöchhacker's (2007) framework.

Chapter 4 examines previous work on church interpreting, before exploring theoretical and empirical perspectives on sermons in protestant churches. Four themes emerge from the former work namely: church interpreting as performance, the interplay between interpreting mode and interpreter behaviour, the position of the researcher vis-à-vis the participants in the study, and the theological importance of interpreting. These four themes are shown to relate directly to how stakeholder expectations can be theorised and analysed within church interpreting. Research on sermons mirrors the importance of performance and participation and provides a helpful tool for analysing stakeholder expectations, especially in the work of Ronald J. Allen (2004).

Chapter 5 is a short bridging section between the literature review found in chapters 2 to 4 and the data and methodological discussions that follow. Here, the theoretical model is given in both visual and textual forms and the hypothesised relationships between the variables and theories discussed are explained.

Chapter 6 explains how the data analysed in this thesis were gathered and the techniques used for analysing them. Starting with a justification of the choice to use a multi-method approach, this chapter provides a rationale for the use of each method and explains how they were used. It also explains the decision to employ a great deal of flexibility in the use of interviews and participant observations, to allow for these to be recalibrated as the study went on. It also includes detailed accounts of how the data from each method were analysed.

Chapter 7 offers a summary and detailed analysis of the data generated in this study. Apart from the discussion of the results of the survey, which is given its own section, the analysis is divided according to the organisation in which data were generated. Within each organisation, results are further sub-divided according to the insights they provide on the wider physical and sociological context of the event, views of the hypertext skopos of each event, expectations of the source texts and then expectations of interpreters. Certain relationships are evident in this analysis, most notably the influence of organisational values on expectations of interpreters.

Chapter 8 interprets the analysis found in chapter 7 in the light of the research question. This begins with placing the results in the context of how interpreting seems to be understood by stakeholders in IEN and CLW. Emphasis is placed on organisational understanding of interpreting, even to the point of reducing the perceived importance of the hypertext skopos of any particular event. The implications of this elevation of organisational values as both a source of expectations and an analytical category for church interpreting research, Interpreting Studies and practising professional interpreters are discussed.

Chapter 9 completes the thesis by providing an overview of the key findings and their implications for theory and methods in Interpreting Studies, stakeholder expectations research and church interpreting research. The limitations of this study are then described, along with their effects on how this thesis could be applied to future research and authentic interpreting practice. The thesis ends with some pointers for future work that may advance or counter the theoretical and empirical claims made in this thesis.

Chapter 2

Listening to the Crowds: Stakeholder Expectations of Conference Interpreting²

As the introduction suggested, interpreting scholars have shown a keen interest in understanding the requirements of interpreting clients since the late 80s. Seleskovitch's dictum that “the chain of communication does not end in the booth” (1986, p. 236) pointed to the social and commercial reality of conference interpreting – interpreting is always provided for someone. Taking into account the felt needs of this “someone,” where they be diplomats, doctors, politicians or businesspeople, is therefore a vital part the continued success of the profession and of individual interpreters. Parallel to this, and even sometimes in direct opposition to it, has been a stream of work that has sought to elicit the views of professional interpreters on the role of interpreters and their criteria for excellent interpreting. Such work has sought standards and ideals that apply equally to all forms of interpreting. This chapter will therefore review much of the work carried out to better understand client expectations of conference interpreting over the past three decades as well as providing an overview of research on the views of conference interpreters. The aim of this will be to discover ways to effectively understand the varied work that has been done already while revealing consistencies between these two streams.

The chapter will therefore begin with a brief discussion of the justifications given for work on client expectations and will contrast these to the concerns expressed by scholars that such work may be of limited use, especially compared to work on the views of interpreters. Following this discussion, to allow for the trajectory and development of client expectations research to be mapped, there will be an account of the history of client expectation studies, split into three parts. The first part will plot early attempts at analysing client expectations and will cover work from Kurz' (1989) paper, which has been seen as one of the earliest attempts at discovering what clients want (Kurz, 2001, p. 396), to Vuorikoski's (1998) seminal meta-analysis of some of the previous studies. The idea of providing a meta-analysis of previous client expectations work and indeed, many of the concerns raised by Vuorikoski would find resonance in the review by Kurz (2001). So important is this paper for

² Much of the material found in this chapter will appear in modified form in a paper entitled “What Every Client Wants? (Re)mapping the trajectory of client expectations research”, to appear in *Meta: Translators' Journal*.

understanding the trajectory of the field and the theoretical and methodological issues arising in it that it will be given its own dedicated section in this chapter (2.2.2). Where the work of Kurz differs from this chapter is that she chose to arrange her review in an author-centred fashion, allowing comparisons to be made between the different approaches and methods of different authors (Kurz, 2001, pp. 396–403). In this present thesis, research has been arranged chronologically, in order to give a greater impression of the trajectory of research since the late 80s. This chronological approach also allows a closer examination of the reasons why client expectation research seems to have been less prominent in the last decade.

The last section of the historical review of client expectations work will cover the period from the publication of Kurz' (2001) literature review to the present day, a period which saw both a marked reduction in the number of work published in English and French on client expectations in conference interpreting and the rise of the use of other methods to understand the social contexts in which interpreters work. This last section will pay special attention to the work of two scholars that would seem to run counter to both the general pattern of research in the past 12 years and the general analytical and methodological trends mapped out in the rest of the historical overview. The work of these two Turkish scholars, Ebru Diriker (2004) and Şeyda Eraslan (2008, 2011), is a fundamental challenge to the prevailing interpretations of client expectations data by suggesting that the data hitherto available described only one level of a far more complex set of expectations that is shaped not only by the contextual variables at play in a given interpreting situation but also by the existence of a stereotypical view of interpreters.

This stereotypical view is at the heart of work that has been done to understand the views of interpreters themselves, work which will be examined in the penultimate section of this chapter. The final section of the chapter will summarise the material presented and show how the outcomes of this work will be applied in the rest of the thesis.

2.1 Rationales for client expectations research?

Aside from the aforementioned quote from Seleskovitch, researchers investigating client expectations have tended to produce very closely related justifications for their work. Kurz, for instance, justified her work on client expectations with several quotations from then-

leading scholars who insisted that the target audience is a vital component in interpreting as it is for them that the interpreting is produced (Kurz, 1989, pp. 13–14)

. To this justification, she added the assertion that “there is no certainty that the ratings given by ... interpreters yield a true picture of user expectations” (*ibid* p. 14). This suggests a need to ascribe at least some importance to the views of those who will commission or use interpreting and sets up a dichotomy of user and interpreter views that would become a feature of later work on the views of interpreters. She would go on to repeat much the same rationale in her seminal review of literature in user expectations, with the addition of the argument that verifying that interpreters' views of quality are similar to those of their clients may prove to be useful in training and in negotiations with clients (Kurz, 2001, p. 394).

Mack and Cattaruzza (1995) justified their study from a more theoretical angle but still in much the same vein. Taking skopos theory as their starting point, they saw user expectation studies as providing a means to learn more about the “highly dishomogenous interlinguistic and intercultural settings” (*ibid* p. 38) in which interpreting takes place and which in turn produce different reactions to the interpreting provided. This justification is very similar to the one given by Vuorikoski (1998, pp. 189–190, 193) who argued that user studies, when carried out with sufficient numbers and with sufficient depth, could eventually lead to a situation where all those involved in the interpreting event understand what their role is and what is required of them.

What seems to be missing from all of these justifications is any discussion of how realistic or workable these expectations might be. This perceived lack of a critical stance towards client expectations has been at the core of the arguments made by some scholars who doubt the usefulness of investigating client expectations. Shlesinger, for instance, pointed out that interpreting users need interpreting precisely because they do not have full understanding of the source language and that it was therefore quite apt to ask whether they know “what's good for them” (1994a, p. 126). Much the same point is put by Chiaro and Nocella who argue that “the special nature of interpreting makes its evaluation difficult for people who consume this service but know very little about it” (2004, p. 281).

Yet the views of scholars researching client expectations and those doubting the usefulness of such work are not actually in fundamental disagreement. Chiaro and Nocella's (2004, p. 281) point that clients lack familiarity with interpreting and therefore will have difficulty

evaluating it bears striking resemblance to Mack and Cataruzza's view that the lack of clarity in their results may be attributable to “difficulties experienced by listeners in assessing SI ... in categories generally irrelevant to their everyday life” (1995, p. 45). As the rest of this chapter will show, a significant proportion of the published work on client expectations has acknowledged, in one way or another, that client expectations and even client responses to interpreting are not objective evaluations of the quality of the interpreting produced. Quite the contrary, as the rest of this chapter will discuss, much of the research produced has sought, in one way or another, to discover the factors that affect the views of clients, many of which may lie outside the boundaries of the actual interpreting they hear or even the conference they attend.

Investigating client expectations is therefore justified by the need to increase understanding of the contexts in which interpreters will carry out their work (Kurz, 2001, p. 404). In this light, whether clients hold expectations that are reasonable or theoretically justifiable is beside the point. What is much more important is increasing understanding of what these expectations are, how they might have arisen and the effect they might have on the treatment and behaviour of interpreters. As the following historical outline of work in client expectations will suggest, this progression from describing expectations to understanding their effect is evident in the progression of client expectation research. As already explained, the focus of this thesis is on the factors underlying stakeholder expectations, however, before a framework for this can be developed, it is first necessary to outline the work that has already been done in increasing knowledge of what stakeholders expect. The next section of this chapter will therefore provide such an outline.

2.2 A history of client expectation studies

This section will concentrate those papers and monographs that have sought to examine what clients expect in authentic interpreting contexts by carrying out research during interpreted conferences. Its scope will also be limited to papers, monographs and theses published in English and French, the working languages of the author. While this does limit the scope of the survey somewhat, feedback on presentations of early versions of this material at international academic conferences suggests that much of what can be said about material published in these languages can be applied with equal force to work in other languages too,

especially work published in Europe (for example Collados Aís and Fernández Sánchez, 2003; Collados Aís, Sánchez and Gile, 2003)

. In order to understand this work, it is first necessary to explore the differences between this kind of work and some of the other options available to researchers when examining client views on interpreting.

2.2.1 Early attempts at client expectation analysis: Innovation and Inconsistency

According to Kurz (2001, p. 398) report on survey work, which will be examined in detail in a later section, the earliest paper to examine what clients want from interpreters is Kurz (1989). In this paper, Kurz borrowed eight criteria that had first been used in Bühler's (1986) investigation of the criteria used by members of AIIC – the international association of conference interpreters – to judge whether a candidate was deserving of membership. These criteria were native accent, pleasant voice, fluency, logical cohesion, sense consistency, completeness, correct usage of grammar, and correct terminology³. These were ranked by clients at a medical conference on a four point scale according to their importance for high quality interpreting (Kurz, 1989, p. 144). The sample size was fairly large, compared with much later work, as 47 surveys were returned (Kurz, 1989, p. 147). The results of this and later studies showed slight variations in the importance given to these criteria by different user groups with attendees at a Council of Europe meeting (N=48) showing the strongest preference for “use of correct terminology” and “completeness of interpretation” and participants at an engineering conference (N=29) showing the least regard for “correct grammatical usage” and “logical cohesion” (Kurz, 1993, p. 16).

Given that the mean ratings given to criteria varied across client groups (Kurz, 1993, p. 15), it is useful to disregard the exact ratings given by any group of clients to a particular criterion and instead rank them according to the relative importance given to each. Applying this to the data given by Kurz (1993, p. 15) gives the table of results on the next page.

³ A list of all of Bühler's criteria can be found in section 2.3, alongside a discussion of the paper itself.

User group	MDs	Eng	CE
	1= Sense	1 Sense	1 Terms
	1= Cohesion	2 Terms	2 Sense
	2 Terms	3 Cohesion	3 Completeness
	3 Completeness	4 Fluency	4 Cohesion
	4 Fluency	5 Completeness	5 Fluency
	5 Voice	6 Voice	6 Grammar
	6 Grammar	7 Accent	7 Voice
	7 Accent	8 Grammar	8 Accent

Figure 1. Rank order of quality criteria derived from Kurz (1993, p. 15). MDs = Medical Doctors, Eng = Engineers, CE = Council of Europe meeting.

It is notable that there is a high degree of homogeneity across these results. “Sense consistency with the original,” “correct use of terminology” and “logical cohesion” appear consistently as three of the top four criteria. Similarly, the three lowest ranked criteria are always “Pleasant Voice,” “Grammatical Correctness” and “Native Accent,” although they appear in a different order each time. Largely then, it would seem that the respondents in these studies placed greater emphasis on the content of what interpreters say over the way that this content is delivered, even to the point of giving grammatical correctness a reduced level of importance.

A year after Kurz' first paper, two papers were published that also attempted to further understanding of client views on interpreting. The paper by Daniel Gile (1990), departed from Kurz example in two ways: instead of asking what clients expected of interpreters, Gile asked them to judge the quality of interpreting they had heard. He also decided to adopt different criteria to Kurz, opting for what he called “wider” criteria instead of Kurz' more specific ones (*ibid* p. 67). Thus, instead of Kurz' eight criteria, Gile presented the clients with 5 main items: general quality of the interpretation; linguistic output quality; terminological usage; fidelity; and voice, rhythm and intonation. Respondents were asked to score these out of 5, where 1 represented “very poor” and 5 represented “very good” (Gile, 1990, p. 67, my translation).

Gile's results show an even greater degree of consistency than those of Kurz. Of the 23 respondents, the vast majority scored each of these criteria at 4 or above, with the 5 American respondents giving every criteria a score of 5 (Gile, 1990, p. 70). Thus it is not possible to produce a similar rank order table to the one produced to summarise Kurz' results. However, even if this were possible, the reduction in the number of criteria and the difficulty in mapping "general quality of interpretation" and "linguistic output quality" onto Kurz' criteria would render a direct comparison of results impossible. It is very difficult therefore to draw any conclusions from Gile's results (*ibid* p. 69).

A study done in the same year took yet another approach. Moving away from the use of surveys, Meak's (1990) study in French presented respondents with a series of 9 questions, varying from open ended, such as question 4 "what data are vital to highlight when a table is displayed?" (*ibid* p. 11⁴), to the very closed, such as question 1 "does simultaneous interpreting allow you to follow a medical conference in which you do not understand the working languages?" (*ibid* p. 9). Unlike Gile and Kurz, she also included questions on aspects that are specific to interpreting at medical conferences such as the importance of medical titles and hospitals (*ibid* p. 10) and whether individual medical fields require specific precision (*ibid* p. 11).

Meak's study showed that, despite her small sample size of only 10 doctors (1990, p. 8), responses to most questions varied widely, perhaps due to the different motivations for attending medical conferences (*ibid* p. 13). However, the variety of responses to her question on whether simultaneous interpreting allowed them to follow the conference indicates that prior experience of interpreting might also have been a factor (*ibid* p. 9). Meak's study therefore can only be read as representing the variety of opinions might hold on interpreting, rather than giving a statistical or quantitative account of how common these opinions might be (cf. *ibid* p. 13).

A study that further complicates the picture is one carried out by Ng (1992). The main aim of this study was not the discovery of client expectations but instead to compare the performance of student interpreters with previous work outlining the common problems in

⁴ All translations from French are mine unless otherwise stated.

interpreting between Japanese and English (Ng, 1992, p. 35). Since the analysis of client expectations was not the aim of Ng's study, the most useful data in the context of this chapter are those covering respondents overall views on the performance of the interpreters.

One of the clearest results in Ng's study is that clients attributed any lack of clarity in the interpreted output to issues with the interpreters and not with the source text (1992, p. 37). In addition, a gender difference is evident in the results. Male respondents tended to place great importance on delivery style and the projection of confidence; while female respondents commented more on grammatical structures and politeness, leading to a marked difference in the how they ordered each of the five interpreters in terms of the quality of their output (*ibid* p. 38). As Ng points out, the fact that there was only one male interpreter and that he was ranked as the “best” interpreter by the men and the “worst” by the women, means that gender-based vocal preferences cannot be ruled out (*ibid*). Thus, this study of clients' responses to interpreting provided outside of an authentic conference suggests that gender-bias may be related to quality judgments in ways that require further exploration. In addition, contrary to earlier results in client expectations, this study seems to suggest that non-lexical criteria, such as delivery and confidence may play a part in quality judgments, depending on the nationality of the listener.

The four studies listed above therefore represent four very different methodological approaches. Kurz' studies (1989, 1993) attempt to elicit client expectations of the interpreting they are about to receive at a specific conference. These will therefore be termed “contextualised expectations” from this point onward. Meak, rather than ask respondents at a conference, administered her questionnaire to ten doctors who “had good experience of international conferences” (Meak, 1990, p. 8, my translation). Thus, their responses will necessarily be based on generalised and uncontextualised experience. They can therefore be termed “uncontextualised expectations.” Gile's study presented a further approach by asking respondents to rate the interpreting they had received at a specific conference (1990, p. 67). This will therefore be termed “contextualised response.” Lastly, Ng's study represents a fourth option by asking potential clients to assess pre-recorded interpreting (1992, p. 37). This will therefore be referred to as “uncontextualised response.”

These four studies suggest that, even at this early stage in client research, there were two distinct axes along which studies could place themselves. The first is the axis of

contextualisation, which allows differentiation between studies carried out *in situ* at live conferences and studies carried out in the laboratory using pre-recorded interpreting of one kind or another. Given the possibility that researchers could, if they wished, create mock conferences that existed only for the purposes of research or use output interpreted at a previous conference and not produced simply for the requirements of a study, this axis is a continuum and not a strict dichotomy. The second axis is much more of a dichotomy, opposing clients' expectations of interpreting they will receive with their response of interpreting they have received. These axes allow the classification of these studies into the table below, the labels of which will be used to examine all other client studies in this chapter.

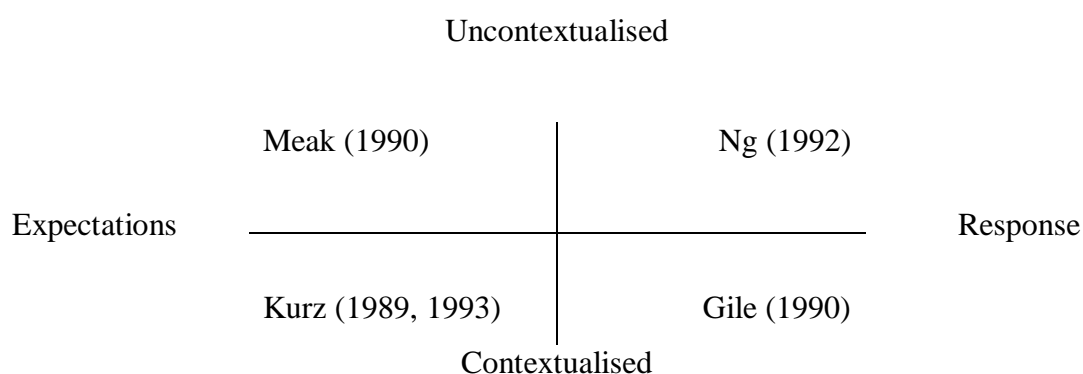


Figure 2. Arrangement of early client expectations studies according to their methodological approach.

These differences in approach taken would suggest that, even if all the scholars adopted the same data collection method and the same items⁵, it would be difficult to reconcile their results. Quite simply, clients' generic expectations of interpreting may well be very different to their specific expectations of the interpreting at a given event. Similarly, their response of interpreting at a specific conference, which they are attending for particular reasons may well differ from their rating of the interpreting that they have heard in a laboratory or at home. This will be a point that will serve as the basis for much of the discussion in this chapter.

As the introduction to this thesis explained, the focus of this thesis is contextualised expectations, placing it more in line with the work carried out by Kurz (1989, 1993).

⁵ From this point on, in accordance with standard practice in fields where survey research takes place on a more systematic level, the word "items" will be adopted to describe the individual elements of each survey to which respondents are asked to reply. This avoids the confusion of referring to survey questions, criteria and such like when examining particular studies.

However, this does not mean that the work found in the other three quadrants of the table above can be simply ignored. Even though there are marked issues around the comparability of results from one approach to another, results generated by other approaches may help to clarify or question the results generated in contextualised client expectation work. In fact, it will be argued in section 2.2.3 of this chapter that clients' uncontextualised expectations do seem to exert an influence on those expectations they have of interpreting in a specific context.

Returning more directly to the historical development of client expectations work, the year immediately following the publication of Kurz' later piece (Kurz, 1993) saw an expansion in the variety of users surveyed with Andrzej Kopczyński's study of the uncontextualised expectations of experts in the humanities (N=20), respondents working in Science and Technology (N=23) and diplomats (N=14), covering a total sample of 57 (1994, p. 91). This would mean that even the largest of Kopczyński's samples was smaller than any previous sample in a study of uncontextualised expectations. This paper would also offer yet another method on top of those pioneered by Kurz, Gile, Meak and Ng, with the researcher asking respondents to give what they felt were the three most important functions of interpreting in order of importance, before stating their top three principal annoyances and then their views on the role of the interpreter (*ibid* p. 92). In addition to dividing the results according to the professional background of the respondents, Kopczyński also divided the results according to whether respondents were primarily speakers or audience members at conferences (*ibid* p. 91).

The functions of interpreting most often given as the most important and second most important varied little according to professional grouping or even between speakers and audience members. Between 70% and 80% of members of each group felt that giving "detailed content" of the source text was the primary function of the interpreter and at least 60% of respondents felt that "terminological precision" was the second most important function (Kopczyński, 1994, pp. 93–94). Only in the matter of the third most important function was there a wide variety of responses with "style," "grammatical correctness" and "fluency of delivery" all being suggested by at least 20% of respondents in any given group (*ibid*).

The picture that emerges from Kopczyński's work then is of a view of interpreting that is highly focussed on the transfer of linguistic and terminological information. This is underlined by the fact that with every group of respondents, no matter whether they were speakers or audience members, and no matter their professional background, “faulty terminology” was most commonly named as the greatest annoyance (Kopczyński, 1994, pp. 95–96).

However, the results showing clients' impression of the role of the interpreter would seem to undercut any attempt at a simplistic interpretation. While a majority of respondents in every group, including speakers and audience members, agreed that interpreters should “remain in the background,” more than 89% of members of the same groups felt that interpreters should “empathise with the speaker's intentions” and only among the humanities scholars was there not a majority in favour of the interpreter imitating the speaker's tempo (Kopczyński, 1994, pp. 97–98). At very least, this would seem to show a measure of awareness that there is much more to interpreted communication than simply speaking words. More importantly, this paper suggests that there may be a difference between uncontextualised views of interpreters and how clients actually expect them to behave at a specific event. As will be argued in the examination of the work of Diriker (2004) and Eraslan (2008, 2011), this division is at the heart of model of client expectations that will be proposed in this thesis.

Papers in the immediately following year tended towards achieving more in terms of the scale of surveys attempted and in terms of making explicit the issues surrounding their analysis. Exemplary in the former shift is the survey compiled by Peter Moser (1995a) under the auspices of the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (the International Association of Conference Interpreters). This contextualised expectations and response survey would gather an unprecedented 201 responses and would require the efforts of 91 interpreters to carry out the survey by structured interview (*ibid* p. 46-47). These interviews covered participants across 85 conferences, from large technical conferences to small general conferences (*ibid* p. 7). Innovations were also made in the survey items used as, for the first time; respondents were given a large number of open-ended questions on top of the traditional multiple-choice items, allowing them to express their views on interpreting in their own terms (*ibid* pp. 28-39).

Interestingly, the results of this survey seem to support the same marginally linguistically-driven view of interpreting that was seen in Kopczyński's (1994) study. The most commonly voiced expectation of interpreting was that it be accurate, with questions of delivery, such as vocal and rhetorical skills, being mentioned less often (Moser, 1995a, p. 8). In addition, when asked what they thought would be particularly difficult about the interpreting profession, issues around “concentration” and “updating knowledge” were mentioned by 29.9% and 22.9% of respondents respectively, with only 7.5% mentioning the interpreter's need to be a cultural mediator or performer.

Still, like Kopczyński's study, there were some responses that seemed to go against a strictly linguistic view of interpreting. The clearest among these was the fact that respondents tended to want interpreters to concentrate on the “essentials” of what was said, rather than trying to interpret everything and this preference was even more marked among older respondents (Moser, 1995a, pp. 14–15). Thus, at least some freedom is given to interpreters to summarise what has been said, perhaps due to the awareness of the demands on interpreters' concentration, mentioned above.

However, the small number of respondents in any given conference (see Moser, 1995a, pp. 39–41) mean that these results are necessarily of a general, global nature. Apart from categorisation of conferences by size and whether they were “technical” or “general” (*ibid* p. 7), this survey was not able to perform any close analysis of the relationship between a given conference type and the expectation of the clients who attended it. This is especially true for conferences where only 1 or 2 clients were surveyed (cf. *ibid* pp. 39-41).

A similar problem is found in the work of Gabriele Mack and Lorella Cattaruzza (1995), whose paper on contextualised expectations and experiences at five different conferences marks the second significant change in client expectation research of that year. The sample sizes from the conferences they researched ranged from 20, at a conference on European trade cooperation to 10 at a meeting on chemistry and medicine (*ibid* p. 39-41). They returned to the multiple-choice approach, adopting an identical research instrument to Vuorikoski (1993). What is striking about their results is just how similar the ratings of their six categories were across both expectations and experience for all client groups at all conferences. When respondents were asked to rate the importance of items on a scale between 1 and 5, with 5 being the most important, all criteria received mean ratings of

between 3.5 and 4.5, with the exception of the mean rating given to fluency by those who were first time users, which was just below 3.5 (*ibid* pp. 43-45).

The results clearly show therefore that the survey was not powerful enough to be able to distinguish any real differences in clients' views. It is awareness of this problem that marks out Mack and Cattaruzza's work as so important in contextualised client expectation studies. Of all the studies carried out, theirs was the notable for its engagement with the theoretical issues raised by the client expectations research (Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 38). It is their conclusion that merits particularly close attention. They finish their paper with the following words:

Better coordination in the carrying out of surveys and an interdisciplinary approach in evaluating their results could bring about more reliable and valuable information on users' perception of SI and their expectations. However, this kind of study by itself is unlikely to provide any viable theoretical outlook, as it cannot compensate for the underlying, fundamental lack of clearly defined and weighted quality components. (Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 47)

These words clearly point out two of the most fundamental issues in all expectation and experience research. The first issue is methodological: according to Mack and Cattaruzza, the lack of reliability in the results of their instrument stems from the need for an “interdisciplinary approach” (*ibid* p. 47) to research in this area. This seems to suggest a need to import methods from disciplines where the protocols surrounding the use of surveys are more established. This idea will be covered in detail in chapter 6.

The second issue covered in their conclusion above is the need for theory that can offer “clearly defined and weighted quality components” (Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 47). The implication in this statement is that the lack of clarity in their results probably stems from confusion on the part of the respondents as to what the items used in their survey actually refer to. After all, these categories were invented by Interpreting Studies scholars and not interpreting users. Thus, it is no surprise that respondents had “difficulties ... in assessing SI ... in categories generally irrelevant to their everyday life” (*ibid* p. 45). Mack and Cattaruzza's study stands out as the first study where real doubt was expressed about the reliability of the items used and where the production of new theory was offered as a possible

solution to this. The place of theory in client expectation research will be discussed in detail in chapters 3 and 5 but it is worth bearing in mind, even at this early stage, that scholars have expressed a need for adequate theorisation around client expectations for almost twenty years.

These same considerations would be raised once more in the work of Vuorikoski (1998), who summarised much of the work that had gone on before that date and placed it in the context of skopos theory and the discourse analytical work of Hatim and Mason (*ibid* p. 188). Thus, she considers the hypotheses made that expectations may be specific to different meeting types as an instantiation of skopos theory before questioning it in the light of the consistency of clients' interest in "faithfulness" and the contrary trend for expectations to vary among the audience of a given conference and even at different stages of the same event (*ibid* pp. 188-189). Following Mack and Cattaruzza's (1995, p. 47) observations on the weaknesses of the research tools available at the time, Vuorikoski also expresses both doubt in the power of the research instruments used and the need for new instruments to be created in the light of improved theorisation (1998, p. 190). Thus, the theme that runs through this paper is the theme that has emerged from much of the work carried out in this first period of research: "in order to serve their purpose, quality concepts have to be clearly defined" (*ibid* p. 190). This theme and the theoretical concerns expressed by Vuorikoski would be echoed in a paper that, until recently, represented the most thorough examination of work to elicit client expectations. This paper will be the focus of the next section of this chapter.

2.2.2 The first major review of client expectations research

In many ways, Kurz (2001) represents the high water mark of the approaches mentioned above to client expectations research and attempts to link it to wider matters of interpreting quality. In this paper, all of the papers mentioned in section 2.2.1 of this chapter are analysed, some of them in great detail and some of the work published in Spanish and German is also examined. Kurz also attempted to contextualise this work not only by providing a theoretical justification for its existence but also by framing it in the history of conference interpreting research.

As far as the history of interpreting research is concerned, Kurz (2001, pp. 396–397) points out that client expectations research forms part of a larger concern with the definition and measurement of translation and interpreting quality. However, despite the fact that interpreting scholars were aware of the importance of the professional background of their audiences from the earliest days of Interpreting Studies in the 1950s (*ibid* p. 395), it took until 1989, some 37 years after it was first posited that different users might have different requirements, for the first empirical study to be carried out to investigate if this were true (*ibid* p. 396).

What is more interesting and more surprising than Kurz' historical contextualisation of client expectations research is the theoretical framework in which she situates it. While previous scholars had opted to use theories from Translation Studies such as skopos theory (Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 38; Vuorikoski, 1998, pp. 188–189) or discourse analytical frameworks (Vuorikoski, 1998, p. 188), Kurz preferred instead to justify client expectations research with appeals to Marketing and Total Quality Management (2001, pp. 394–395, 404–405).

Interpreting in this view is seen as a product or service much like any other and the need for client feedback then stems from the realisation that quality, at least from the buyer and client's point of view, is a subjective measurement of the difference between what the client expected and the service they actually received (*ibid* pp. 404–405). In her view, it is likely to be this measurement of quality and not any measurement derived from expert analysis or the judgment of other professionals that will play a large part in negotiating better pay and conditions for interpreters (*ibid* p. 394).

Viewed in this light, it is apparent that the greatest need for client expectations work is the creation of a generally acceptable, extensible research tool that can be consistently applied to a wide variety of situations. However, as has already been shown in the previous section, consistency is not something that was the hallmark of client expectations research in its infancy. In the view of Kurz, this lack of consistency led to a corresponding lack of comparability between studies, despite the fact that all client expectations studies had used surveys or structured interviews as data collection methods (2001, pp. 397–398). This problem is further compounded by the lack of agreement over whether expectations or response or both are the most apt perspectives from which to study the views of clients (*ibid* p. 398).

This lack of comparability can lead scholars in two directions. The first of these is to follow those who, like Shlesinger (1994a), express doubt in the viability and usefulness of client expectations studies. As Kurz points out, several factors, not just the linguistic output of the interpreter, may affect user's perception of quality and some parts of interpreted texts may be subject to greater scrutiny than others due to their own interests (2001, pp. 403–404). The natural reaction to this would be to conclude that only interpreters are qualified to judge the success of an interpreted text. The alternative to this view is the one expressed at the beginning of this chapter: namely that that user's perceptions can never be an objective measure of quality (if such a thing is ever possible anyway) but that this does not mean that they can simply be disregarded. On the contrary, it means that interpreters need to be aware of client expectations and do their best to meet these, whilst being aware that not all expectations will be possible or reasonable to fulfil (cf. Kurz, 2001, p. 404).

Kurz' review of the work done before 2001 therefore serves as both a critical summary of the state of the field at that time and an encouragement for on-going work. As Kurz points out, client feedback, while being only one of a number of necessary perspectives on the interpreting actually delivered at a given conference, offers information that can be useful both for practicing interpreters and interpreting trainers (2001, p. 407). However, this does not gloss over the pressing need at that point for greater methodological rigour and for theorisation that can explain or predict the data produced by such methods (*ibid* p. 397, 403). The next section will therefore examine the work that took place in client expectations research after the publication of Kurz' meta-analysis, including further analyses of the shortcomings and promise of research in this area.

2.2.3 The twenty-first century: Decline, debate and de-/re-contextualisation

If the publication of Kurz' (2001) review of expectations research was an encouragement to greater methodological rigour and further in-depth work on client expectations then it would seem that it received little in the way of response. A search through the major research aggregators for conference interpreting (Daniel Gile's CIRIN website) and for Translation Studies as a whole (Translation Studies Abstracts) shows that, at least as far as work in English or French is concerned, the period between 2002 and the present day was one in which client expectations work declined in prominence. In total, only 3 attempts to elicit new

data on contextualised client expectations appear in either database or in Google Scholar in this period in English or French, none of which appear in translation or interpreting journals. Instead, such work became part of larger projects, ranging from a PhD thesis⁶ (Eraslan, 2011), a monograph on the context of conference interpreting⁷ (Diriker, 2004), and a paper from conference proceedings (Eraslan, 2008).

What is interesting is that the relationship between these pieces of research and previous work on client expectations is unclear. Diriker, for instance, only mentions client expectation studies in passing, preferring to emphasise the problematic relationship between the context that client expectation studies have sought to describe and the actual behaviour of interpreters at specific conferences (2004, p. 13). Similarly, client expectation studies receive only passing mentions by Eraslan (2008, p. 7, 2011, p. 25) and in both cases she argued that there was a difference between work that sought to elicit client expectations as regards the quality of interpreting and work on clients' expectations of the interpreter's role. "Quality" in Eraslan's work (*op. cit.*) seems to refer to an objective construct that attempts to measure the success of interpreting against a set of pre-defined criteria existing outwith the event itself. "Role" therefore is the term for the expectations that clients have of the behaviour of an interpreter at a given event (2011, p. 25).

This distinction forms a useful starting point from which to explain why contextualised client expectation studies seems to have suddenly reduced in frequency in English and French after the publication of Kurz' (2001) survey of the state of the field. If Eraslan's (2011, p. 25) "quality" versus "role" division is valid then this suggests a difference in the epistemological stance taken towards interpreting itself. The uncontextualised and depersonalised notion of "quality" suggests, in its connotation of the worlds of industry and commerce, that interpreting is a product that can be judged against a series of objective and measurable criteria that are defined and operationalized outside of any given context (and Kurz, 2001, p. 394; see Chiaro and Nocella, 2004, p. 281). This leads to the challenge of defining and delineating exactly what is meant by quality and how this can be measured with any degree of accuracy. Moser-Mercer, for example, states that

⁶ It is the minor dissertation – a report made in the middle of the PhD process – by this scholar that appears on Google scholar. However, since the PhD thesis represents the finished study, references are made to this and not the minor dissertation that preceded it.

⁷ This monograph is a publication of Diriker's PhD thesis, which is identically named. As it is only the monograph and not the thesis that appears when searching, only the former has been counted.

The first step in the measurement of quality is therefore to distinguish the construct from other similar constructs by defining it clearly, precisely and unambiguously. ... We must therefore decide how we can elicit responses that will indicate the degree of presence or absence of a specific construct attribute in the minds of our respondents. (Moser-Mercer, 2008, p. 146)

The assumption here is not only that quality is a construct that can be given an objective definition but that can have a presence or absence independent of any particular context. Quality in these terms, while existing in the minds of respondents, nonetheless exists independent of these minds. While seeing quality in this way does encourage increased rigour in research – Moser-Mercer goes on to assert that “most of the research on quality lacks a rigorous description of the construct *quality* and ... we continue to search for *quality* concepts that can be operationalized” (Moser-Mercer, *op. cit.*, italics in original) – the problem with research on quality in these terms is very similar to the problem with work on uncontextualised expectations and work on interpreters' definitions of quality. All three represent uncontextualised ideals of interpreting that may not be applicable to particular situations and even if they are, they are likely to be reinterpreted, in a hermeneutical sense, in each case. This echoes Grbić's argument (2008) that ‘quality’ is a social construct, of which the parameters and measurement vary according to the context in which it is being examined (whether an academic study or in authentic settings, for example) and according to the person or persons doing the describing and measuring.

A useful illustrative example of this is the contrast drawn by Diriker between the “meta-discourse” (2004, pp. 25–50, 131–147) used to describe simultaneous interpreting and the actual expectations clients have of how interpreters would behave at a given conference. At the conference she studied, despite the fact that apparent client expectations seemed to be very homogenous, with most of the clients she interviewed stating preferences for “fidelity to the meaning of the speaker's speech” and “familiarity with the topic and terminology”, these same concepts were understood very differently by different clients (*ibid* p. 136). This contradiction led to interpreters having to negotiate their position using both linguistic and social strategies (*ibid* pp. 135, 137). In addition, despite the opinions expressed by Turkish society, experts in interpreting, interpreters' own writings (all *ibid* pp. 25-50) and by one of the interpreters (*ibid* p. 71) that interpreting is about accurately delivering what was said

without any additions or omissions, interpreters actively shaped communication in several ways. These included giving speakers advice on how to work more effectively with interpreters (*ibid* p. 70) and interrupting the interpreting of the speeches to notify listeners when something had gone wrong or when speakers were making it difficult to interpret (*ibid* pp. 83-94).

The applicability of existing work on client perceptions of quality to any particular case of interpreting would therefore be highly debatable, especially given the possibility, pointed out by Diriker (2004, pp. 136–137), for the terms used in surveys or interviews to be interpreted in a variety of different ways. This problem, combined with the fact that the waning of interest in contextualised client expectations roughly coincides with the rapid growth in the number of studies on the social aspects of interpreting⁸ suggests that work on client expectations of the role of the interpreter, rather than work on client's views on quality in general, should have come to the fore. Yet, as was discussed earlier, the number of publications on client expectations of conference interpreting actually dropped in the years after Kurz' (2001) review paper.

On the one hand, given both the implicit (e.g. Shlesinger, 1994a; Chiaro and Nocella, 2004, p. 281) and explicit criticism (e.g. Moser-Mercer, 2008) of client expectations work, such a reduction in interest may be perfectly understandable. As this chapter has already shown, the range of methods, approaches and even aspects of quality covered in the work done made it difficult to carry out comparative work and almost impossible to reach any firm conclusions as to what had been discovered so far. In this context, and bearing in mind Diriker's previously mentioned findings on the variety of meanings given to similar phrases (2004, p. 136), it is impossible to agree with those who assert that work on client and interpreter views on quality has produced largely homogenous results (e.g. Al-Zahrani, 2007, pp. 4, 67–68). Much of the previous work in client expectations then has provided a snapshot of the potential of this work rather than providing evidence of its realisation.

On the other hand, wider shifts in Interpreting Studies might also have contributed to the waning of interest in client expectations of interpreting. The 1990s and 2000s saw a marked

⁸ See Pöchhacker (2004b, pp. 36–37, 40–42, 44) who points out that, while work on the interpersonal and social aspects of interpreting, specifically community interpreting, was available at least from the 1980s, researchers in conference interpreting were ignorant of such work and it would take until 1995, with the first "Critical Link" conference for this work to gain international momentum.

growth in work on the role of interpreters in non-conference settings and especially on how they co-produce interpreted texts in partnership with the other participants in the interpreting situation (Pöchhacker, 2004b, pp. 78–79). One of the most wide-ranging examples of this is the collection of works on community interpreting edited by Ian Mason (2001), entitled *Triadic Exchanges*, which covers the role(s) played by interpreters in a variety of community settings from the launch of a bank in Africa (*ibid* pp.109-130) to therapy sessions (*ibid* pp. 71-86). In all of these cases, it is the creation and performance of the interpreter's role in a specific instance of interpreting that is in view rather than clients' views of this role. One counter-example of this general trend is the work of Cecilia Wadensjö who integrated transcribed data, interviews, participant observation and a range of other qualitative sources into her analysis of the social norms and behaviours of community interpreters (1998, p. 94).

A combination of these two factors – criticism of previous work and the trend towards text-based analysis of specific interpreting situations – may well be at work in the relative decline of client expectations and response research, at least in the form that it had taken in the 80s and 90s. In this context, what is notable about the three studies that were carried out after the publication of Kurz (2001) review paper is that they were able to show that the previous methods of eliciting client expectations – surveys and interviews – could be paired up with the kinds of textual analysis that were characteristic of much of the socially-oriented work of the 90s and 2000s. Diriker's study, for instance, brings together interviews with interpreters (2004, pp. 67–73), conference organisers (*ibid* p. 63), speakers (*ibid* pp. 64-67) and users (*ibid* pp. 74-80) alongside deep analyses of the interpreters' output (*ibid* pp. 81-130). Similarly, Eraslan combined user surveys (2011, pp. 65–88), interviews with interpreters (*ibid* pp. 89-106) and analyses of interpreter outputs (*ibid* pp. 107-194). The earlier methods, as used in the 80s and 90s, were therefore used to supply one piece of a much larger picture of the contextualisation of the role(s) of interpreters, much in the same way as Wadensjö (1998, p. 94) brought together a range of data sources in her analysis.

The work of Diriker (2004) and Eraslan (2008, 2011) therefore reveals a much more nuanced picture of client expectations than was previously available. As previously mentioned, Diriker (2004, p. 136) points out that the capacity for the same key concepts to mean different things to different audience members means that even where clients appear to agree on what they want from interpreters at a specific conference, their understandings of what this entails may differ markedly. More subtly, she suggests that the way the profession is presented in

public, which she calls the “meta-discourse” of conference interpreting (*ibid* pp. 25-50), may itself be a factor in client expectations. By simplifying the presentation of the work of conference interpreters down to the transfer of meaning communicated by the source text speaker while remaining impartial (*ibid* pp. 48-49), interpreters may reinforce a certain impression of their profession that goes on to be reflected in clients' views on their role (*ibid* p. 25). This suggestion will become more important in the discussion of how the results of this thesis might impact on interpreting practice (see section 8.2.3)

The suggestion that this simplified impression of interpreting is reflected in some areas of client expectations gains even more credibility in the work of Eraslan, who sought to demonstrate the difference between two areas of clients' expectations. This first is the “normative role” (2008, p. 11), which bears a striking resemblance to the impression of interpreting reflected in Diriker's (2004, pp. 25–50) elucidation of the “meta-discourse”. For Eraslan, this normative role involves “fidelity to the original speech” (2008, p. 19), use of correct terminology (*ibid* p. 18) and rendering every detail of the original (*ibid* p. 21). However, she argued that these expectations are reinterpreted according to the needs of the specific conference, becoming the “typical role” (*ibid* p. 11). This “typical role” therefore covers questions on how interpreters should deal with the names of foreign institutions (*ibid* p. 21), and whether they should correct the speaker if they have made a mistake or explain details in the event of misunderstandings (*ibid* p. 23).

Analysing expectations in this way allows for contradictions in client expectations to be noticed and explained. If generic expectations of interpreting are treated as being separate to those specific to a given conference then it is unsurprising that the majority of clients surveyed by Eraslan tended towards saying that they wish interpreters to be “absolutely neutral and uninvolved” (2008, p. 20) and yet a majority also wanted interpreters to smooth communication by correcting speaker mistakes and adding explanations (*ibid* p. 23). In much the same way as clients might have different definitions of “fidelity” (Diriker, 2004, p. 136), the role of interpreters may be subject to reinterpretation in the context of a given event too.

Eraslan's proposed divide between “normative role” and “typical role” (2008, p. 11) therefore provides a lens through which previous research can be understood and the foundation for new research. In the case of previous research, the predominance of normative role items such as “sense consistency with the original,” “logical cohesion” and “pleasant voice” (all

taken from Kurz, 1993) limits the usefulness of such work to the examination of audience views on the uncontextualised role of the interpreter. At the same time, the fact that these items all measure the same aspect of the interpreter's role mean that similarities in how they are rated are to be expected. Adding items that more directly relate to interpreters' practice in a given setting, such as how to handle names of job titles (cf. Meak, 1990, p. 10) or whether interpreters should imitate the speaker's intonation (Eraslan, 2008, p. 22) allows a much more nuanced view of clients' expectations. The price of this is that, since different events present different challenges for interpreters (see e.g. Gile, 1989) not all event-specific items will be able to be used in all cases, thus reducing the possibility for direct comparability. However, as chapter 6 will show, comparability does not need to be entirely jettisoned. Comparability has, however, been at the heart of much work on interpreters' own views of their role, with the much of the work in this area using similar items related to the normative role. It is to this work that this chapter will now turn.

2.3 The views of conference interpreters

In his 2009 meta-study on surveys of professional interpreters, Franz Pöchhacker notes that like client expectations studies, work on interpreters' own views has ranged widely in their scope, covering topics on the entirety of the working life of interpreters, from the language directions in which interpreters work to their views on specialisation and notetaking (2009, p. 178). Of these themes, the two that correspond most closely to the themes apparent in client expectations work are those on quality and role. Pöchhacker lists 3 studies that asked interpreters to give their criteria for quality in interpreting and 8 studies pertaining to the role of the interpreter (*ibid*, p. 179). Of the studies on quality, one is in Spanish and is therefore excluded from discussion in this thesis, leaving two studies to be discussed. Among the studies on the role of the interpreter, two are in German and one is part of the work of Şeyda Eraslan, mentioned in section 2.2. Of the German studies, one will be alluded to given its close analysis in Pöchhacker's study (see *ibid*, pp. 180-181). In two other cases, mentions of the role of the interpreter are limited and of only peripheral importance to the study in which they are mentioned (*ibid*, p. 180), leading to a decision to exclude them from this thesis. This leaves four studies on role that will be discussed in this thesis. One further study is too recent to be discussed in Pöchhacker's work yet will be mentioned as it stands as a repetition of the work of Bühler (1986). This is the study by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger, detailed in two

separate papers (Zwischenberger, 2009; Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker, 2010) on interpreters' perceptions of their own role.

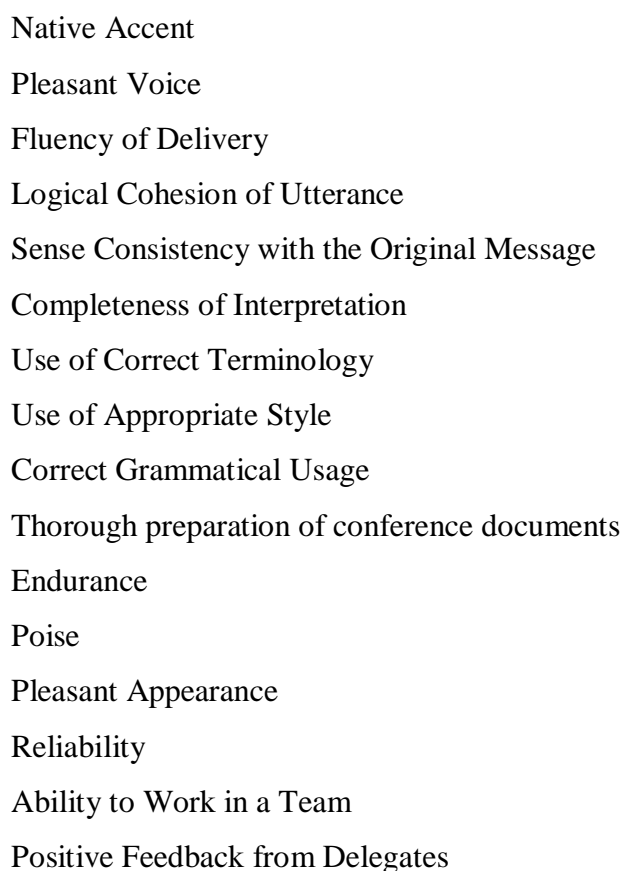
Before giving an overview of these studies, however, it is important to note that the development of research amongst interpreting professionals seems to follow a contrasting pattern to client expectations research. Pöchhacker (2009, p. 180) notes that half of the papers in his corpus that dealt with the role of the interpreter appeared between 2004 and 2008. These later papers also make up the vast majority of works that centre on the role of the interpreter, rather than treating it as part of a wider research theme. This corresponds very closely to the steep drop-off in work on client expectations in the first half of the last decade, a pattern which becomes all the more meaningful when it is seen that it is only in some of these later studies that criticisms of client expectations research begin to surface. The criticisms of such work by Chiaro and Nocella (2004, p. 281) discussed in section 2.1 show interesting similarities with Al-Zahrani's conclusion (2007, pp. 67–69), that methodological weaknesses coupled with the position of clients as those who require interpreting mean that client surveys are not reliable instruments in defining the role of the interpreter. In both cases, the reduction in importance of client views is related to their subjectivity and lack of knowledge of the interpreting process. This leads to the view in both cases that interpreters are the natural source of information on what the role of the interpreter should be. It may be then that the rise in interpreter surveys is connected to a rejection of client-centred research for the very reasons discussed in section 2.2.3.

There remains a need, however, to discover whether the preference for interpreters as more objective sources of information has any empirical backing. The rest of this section will therefore provide a brief outline of the work done in interpreter surveys using a similar approach as the one used to discuss client expectations research. Once again, both the results and the methods used in each study will be described.

The earliest study in quality mentioned by Pöchhacker is the one carried out by Bühler (1986). In this study, the respondents were all either people who sponsored candidates for membership of AIIC, the international association of conference interpreters, or were members of the committee who classify the working language of applicants. The rationale given for this decision was that the author assumed that these people would reflect the needs of interpreting clients in their deliberations (*ibid*, p. 231). This decision to use a group of

interpreters as a proxy for the views of clients stands in contrast to later studies where researchers argued that the views of interpreters was more valuable than that of clients. Bühler's claim that these respondents take into account the views of clients also seems to be challenged by the fact that 35% of her respondents felt that client feedback was unimportant or irrelevant (*ibid*).

Positive feedback was only one of the sixteen criteria that she asked her respondents to rate according to their relative importance when sponsoring a candidate for AIIC membership. The list of criteria is presented in full in figure 3.



- Native Accent
- Pleasant Voice
- Fluency of Delivery
- Logical Cohesion of Utterance
- Sense Consistency with the Original Message
- Completeness of Interpretation
- Use of Correct Terminology
- Use of Appropriate Style
- Correct Grammatical Usage
- Thorough preparation of conference documents
- Endurance
- Poise
- Pleasant Appearance
- Reliability
- Ability to Work in a Team
- Positive Feedback from Delegates

Figure 3: List of criteria used by Bühler (1986, p. 234)

Among these criteria, the first eight seem to be production criteria, along much the same lines as those mentioned under the “normative role” by Eraslan (2008, pp. 18–21). Another five, from “Endurance” to “Ability to work in a team” can be classified as personal characteristics, which may not be immediately obvious to clients. Of the remaining two, only “positive feedback from delegates” makes direct mention of the views of clients.

In terms of the ratings given to these criteria, “sense consistency with the original message” was rated as “highly important” by the highest percentage of respondents (96%) (Bühler, 1986, p. 232). This was followed by “logical cohesion of utterance”, which was given this rating by 83% of respondents and “reliability”, which was given this rating by 83% (*ibid* p. 232). The lowest rated criteria were, in reverse order, “pleasant appearance”, which no one rated as “very important”, “poise” which was only rated as “very important” by 9% of respondents and “use of appropriate style”, which only 17% of respondents rated as “very important” (*ibid*, p. 235).

Overall, Bühler noted a trend towards the first eight criteria, which were related to the normative role, being rated more highly than the later criteria (1986, p. 233). However, any understanding of these results must be set in the light of the frequent differences of opinion among respondents and between the respondents and the researcher as to what each of the criteria actually meant (*ibid*, pp. 231-232). This is a point that did not escape one early critic of Bühler’s work, who expressed the view that there was a need for precise definition of the terms involved (Seleskovitch, 1986).

While the problem of terminological agreement and the validity of the tools used in interpreter research would go on to become a matter of strong debate (see chapter 6), they are not found in the work of Janet Altman (1990), who looked to gather interpreters’ views on the behaviours that helped or hindered their work by surveying two different populations, a group of European Community (EC) interpreters in Brussels and a postal survey of UK resident members of AIIC (*ibid*, pp. 23-24). There were no common items between this study and the earlier work of Bühler (1986). Rather than ask respondents to rate the importance of items, Altman instead split the survey into two major parts, with the first asking respondents to rate how often they enacted different interpreter behaviours and the second asking respondents to rate the relative impact of different elements on their ability to “bridge the communication gap” (Altman, 1990, p. 32)

One of the main results of this study was that there were clear differences between the two groups. While 42% of the respondents in the AIIC group felt that interpreters had a very positive effect on communication, only 19% of the EC group felt the same (*ibid*, p. 24). Similarly, while 61% of respondents in the AIIC group felt that delegates made allowances

for interpreters, only 44% of the EC group thought the same. One place where the researcher does not give details of the differences between the groups is in the item on whether an interpreter “can improve the quality of an original speech” (*ibid*, p. 31). Here instead, the researcher remarks that the general consensus was that this was possible but that some interpreters expressed the view that this was not correct conduct, with one respondent remarking that “the interpreter’s function is to reproduce the original speech” (*ibid* p. 26).

Altman’s study therefore shows the potential for different groups of interpreters to hold different views of interpreting, a line of research that was to be more fully followed up in the work of Claudia Angelleli (2004). In this study, Angelleli sought to examine how different interpreters – court interpreters, medical interpreters and conference interpreters – perceived their role, especially as regards how invisible or neutral they should be (*ibid*, p. 51). To do this, she constructed a survey that used items that asked respondents to state the extent to which they agreed with 38 statements about the work of the interpreter using 6 point likert scales, rather than rating specific criteria. Of these 38, the vast majority tend to be closer to the concerns of what Eraslan would later label the “typical role” (2011, pp. 45, 66–88) than the normative role items found in earlier work. This is especially the case with items such as item 7: “it is not my job to remind the parties whose turn it is to speak” and item 10: “if the party’s words are culturally inappropriate, I need to make him/her aware of that” (Angelleli, 2004, p. 103).

What makes this study stand out is not just the size of the sample, covering 293 interpreters from three countries (*ibid*, pp. 51, 64-67) but also the methodological rigour applied to the survey that forms the backbone of the study. This involved the use of a preparatory phase including peer feedback on the items used, interviews with interpreters and initial statistical testing of a small-scale dry run and larger pilot before the creation of a revised version (*ibid* pp. 53-62). The attention given to describing the constructs the survey sought to measure (*ibid*, p. 51) and the reliability of the items (*ibid*, p. 58-62) suggests that this survey does not share the same terminological or conceptual issues found in most work in client expectations or indeed in studies of interpreter views.

Her study showed that medical interpreters saw themselves as most visible, followed by court interpreters and then conference interpreters (Angelleli, 2004, pp. 70–73). This was consistent whether visibility was measured as a single construct (*ibid*, p. 70) or broken down

into subcomponents (*ibid*, p. 72-73). This result was also supported by some of the unsolicited comments from interpreters, as conference interpreters especially often remarked that they felt that questions on visibility did not apply to them as they were precisely committed to being invisible (*ibid* pp. 78-79).

A similar, although much less clear, pattern is evident in the work of Mohammed Al-Zahran, who also sought to understand conference interpreters' views on neutrality by surveying interpreters working for large international organisations and those who were members of AIIC (Al-Zahran, 2007, pp. 190–192), this time concentrating on consecutive conference interpreting and whether being a cultural mediator involved reducing the importance of neutrality (*ibid*, pp. 2-6). Unlike Angelleli's study, the work of Al-Zahran puts much less emphasis on methodological rigour, evidenced by the presence in his survey of unbalanced scales, which favour certain answers (e.g. *ibid*, pp. 200, 216, 219, 224). This same issue is evident in responses to his question to interpreters as to whether they saw themselves as a "linguistic mediator" or an "intercultural mediator" as most seemed to feel that either both were equally true or that one term included the other (*ibid*, pp. 207-213).

With this in mind, it is possible that Al-Zahran's conclusion that interpreters felt that cultural mediation was compatible with neutrality (2007, p. 255) is as much the product of the methodology as it is a reflection of the positions of the interpreters surveyed. Nevertheless, given that it is broadly compatible with the conclusions reached by Angelleli as to the views of conference interpreters (2004, pp. 70–73), it is possible that does reflect some aspects of conference interpreters' view of their own role.

The work of Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker (see also Zwischenberger, 2009; 2010) departs from both of these previous studies by returning to the much earlier work of Bühler (1986) in order to see whether opinions had changed since her study. The authors also added three new items: "correct grammar", "lively intonation", and "synchronicity" (Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker, 2010) as well as asking interpreters asked how they would describe the role of a conference interpreter (Zwischenberger, 2009, pp. 245–246). Their survey received 704 responses from members of AIIC, making it the largest survey of its kind in terms of sample size.

Largely, their results agreed with those of Bühler (1986), with “sense consistency with the original” and “logical cohesion” again being rated as the top two criteria (Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker, 2010). The main differences were that “fluency of delivery” ranked much higher in than in the earlier survey, being rated as “very important” by more than 70% of respondents. Conversely, “completeness of utterance” ranked much lower, being rated as “very important” by only 47.7% of respondents beneath items such as “correct grammar” (54.4%) and “correct terminology” (61%) (*ibid*). Once again, the general, but by no means universal, pattern would seem to be that interpreters more highly prize aspects of their performance connected with the impartial transfer of semantic information over aspects of how this information is delivered. This would seem to explain why delivery aspects such as “lively intonation”, “pleasant voice” and “appropriate style” were rated as “very important” by so few respondents: 28.2%, 14.1% and 15.3% respectively. The same overriding pattern may explain why, in the same study, so many of the answers given by interpreters as to their role in the communicative event tended towards seeing their role as helping or facilitating others’ communication, instead of being communicators in their own right (Zwischenberger, 2009, p. 246). In fact, only 7% of respondents labelled conference interpreters as “communicator[s]” (*ibid*).

However, it is possible that these results represent a relatively late development in the history of interpreter views. In Pöchhacker’s discussion of an interview study of 39 German-resident AIIC members by Feldweg (1996), he points out that while the same metaphors of mediation and enabling communication are present in the study (Pöchhacker, 2009, p. 180), some respondents expressed their regret that the workload of interpreters means that doing anything more than simply relaying content is impossible (*ibid*, p. 181). Pöchhacker further suggests that this shift may be related to the move from consecutive to simultaneous interpreting, with the physical invisibility of the interpreter becoming reflected in a reduction in their agency in the communication process (*ibid*).

It is worth noting in this vein that these views receive only qualified support in the work of McKee (2008) on the views of sign language interpreters. In this case, while views related to the concept termed “accuracy” were referred to in 33% of the comments received by the researcher, the next two most popular areas – termed “professional conduct” (23%) and “interactional dynamics” (17%) – showed far greater concern with the work of an interpreter as an active participant in the event (*ibid*, pp. 5, 10-11). Thus, it would seem that the process

of reducing the agency of the interpreter, so prevalent in surveys of conference interpreters, is not present in this case.

2.4 Conclusion and application to the study

This chapter has demonstrated that, although stakeholder expectations studies have been carried out over the past 24 years, this does not mean that the results of such work are homogenous or clear. On the contrary, the wide variety of approaches and items used makes it very difficult to directly compare different studies. This lack of comparability seems to have contributed to a lack of momentum in client expectations work, leading to a marked decline in the number of studies published in English or French examining client expectations in the 21st century. Increasing interest in the social role of interpreters also seems to have led to a change in focus in Interpreting Studies, away from the examination of general accounts of the expectations that clients have of interpreters towards examinations of their practices in specific settings.

Research on client expectations, when it has been carried out, has more recently tended to form part of larger studies rather than as the sole subject to analysis. Typical in this regard is the work of Turkish scholars Diriker (2004), who set out to contextualise the strategies used by simultaneous conference interpreters and Eraslan (2008, 2011), who sought to better understand the role of consecutive conference interpreters. In both cases, it was shown that the public and professional discourse around conference interpreting, labelled the “meta-discourse” by Diriker (2004, pp. 25–50) was reflected in the expectations of clients forming what Eraslan called the “normative role” (2008, p. 11). However, in addition and sometimes in seeming contradiction to this, this role was reinterpreted in the light of the requirements of the specific instance of interpreting they were experiencing, becoming what Eraslan called their view of the “typical role” (2011, pp. 45, 65–88).

This suggests that this same acceptance of a stereotypical view of interpreters, only to reinterpret it may be at work in the context of this thesis. It is therefore necessary to use an approach that allows the collection of data on stakeholders’ view of the general or stereotypical view of interpreters, as well as their views of what they require in the specific setting in which they experience interpreting. This general view of interpreting, which seems

to be only slightly affected by context (cf. Kurz, 1993) will be termed “interpreting uncontextualised” from now on. The more specific expectations of interpreters, which are, by definition, context-specific will be labelled “event-specific expectations” from now on. In chapter 5, these categories of expectation, alongside those generated from the theory covered in chapters 3 and 4 will be brought together into a single, overarching model.

Work on interpreter views, however, has tended precisely to concentrate on the normative role and on uncontextualised surveys. While this has led to much larger sample sizes being possible for such work and has increased the likelihood of comparable results, it has tended towards similar methodological weaknesses as are found in client expectations work. In both cases, the trend has been towards instruments that correspond to the interests of researchers without necessarily being pre-tested for validity or consistency. In this context, the work of Angelleli (2004) stands as an exception given both its rigour and its emphasis on but even here some respondents failed to see the relevance of certain items to their work. Nevertheless, the inclusion of items that accord with Eraslan’s “typical role” (2011, p. 45) and its concentration on one aspect of interpreting instead of several uncontextualised criteria mean that this work forms a natural bridge between work on client expectations and research on interpreter views.

Previous work on client expectations and interpreter views therefore demonstrates both the possibilities and limitations of such research. The most recent work carried out in this vein suggests that, in order to better understand expectations of interpreters, it is necessary to understand the sources of such expectations and to be able to theorise how a particular set of expectations might arise in a specific context. In addition to the ability to classify expectations into different categories, as in the work of Eraslan (2008, 2011), it is therefore necessary to have an overarching theory in which expectations can be explained and perhaps even predicted, something that has conspicuous by its absence in client expectations work, especially in its earlier periods (Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 47; Moser-Mercer, 2008, pp. 146–147). An ability to predict expectations could then form the basis of managing and satisfying them. One potential candidate for an overarching theory has already been used as both a justification of client expectations work and in the explanation of results. As mentioned above, Vuorikoski (1998, pp. 188–190) used skopos theory as a potential theoretical framework in which to situate client expectations work, even if this was not without its challenges. The next chapter will therefore examine skopos theory in the light of

its possible application to stakeholder expectations research, including some recent criticisms of the theory.

Chapter 3

Skopos Theory

The previous chapter underlined that one of the fundamental gaps in stakeholder expectations research has been the dearth of theoretical frameworks that can be used for such work. It was suggested that this issue is at the core of the methodological and terminological weaknesses that have been identified in such work since the late 1990s. This chapter will continue the process of seeking to fill this gap by examining one particular candidate for framing and explaining the expectations of clients: skopos theory. This theory has already been viewed as being particularly amenable for use in client expectations research since it has been suggested that there is a close relationship between the desire to investigate the possible effect of different event types on client expectations and the claim in skopos theory that the perceived purpose of a translation affects the expectations of its receivers (e.g. Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995, p. 38; Vuorikoski, 1998, pp. 188–189). Applying this theory to research on the expectations of all stakeholders therefore may be seen as an extension of existing work. Some recent criticisms of skopos theory have, however, challenged its explanatory power by suggesting that the work of Translators is much more complex than the theory suggests. This chapter will therefore outline the central claims and historical development of skopos theory, paying particular attention to its application to interpreting in the work of Franz Pöchhacker (1995, 2007) before turning to some of the recent criticisms of the theory. The chapter will end by presenting the ways in which the theory will be used in this study, taking on board some of the criticisms without jettisoning the theory entirely.

3.1 The central claims of skopos theory⁹

Skopos theory hypothesises that Translation¹⁰ is “an intentional, interpersonal, partly verbal intercultural interaction based on a source text” (Nord, 1997, p. 18). The rest of this section

⁹ Some of the material in this section is based on work I carried out for two previous publications: “Using the right Bible translation? A professional translator’s perspective on translation choice.” *The Pneuma Review*, vol. 12 no. 3., summer 2009, pp. 24-43, available here: <http://pneumareview.com/using-right-bible-translation-jdownie/> (Downie, 2009b) and “The End of an Era? Does skopos theory spell the end of the “free vs. literal” paradigm?”, *Pneuma Review: In Depth* (online only) available here: <http://pneumareview.com/the-end-of-an-era-does-skopos-theory-spell-the-end-of-the-free-vs-literal-paradigm-by-jonathan-downie/> (Downie, 2009a). Used with permission of the publisher.

¹⁰ This thesis will adopt the convention, suggested by Pöchhacker (2004a, p. 108) of using translation with a capital ‘T’ to refer to written translation as well as all forms of interpreting and using a small ‘t’ to refer

will unpack how skopos theorists define the three key terms in this view of translation, namely, “intentional”, “partly verbal” and “intercultural interaction”.

3.1.1 Translation as intentional

Nord’s use of the word “intentional” in the quote above (1997, p. 18) reflects the central claim of skopos theory that “the skopos of (translational) acting determines the strategy for reaching the intended goal” (Vermeer, 1996, p. 15). Here, the word “skopos” is used to refer to the purpose of the Translation as defined by the person who wishes the translation to be carried out (*ibid*, p. 6). Together, the statement of the skopos of the Translation and the source text itself form what skopos theorists call the brief (Nord, 1997, p. 30) or commission (Vermeer, 1996, p. 6)¹¹, which is seen as the basis for all of the Translator’s decisions. In ideal cases, this brief will contain all the information the translator requires in order to carry out the translation, including its intended audience and use. According to skopos theorists, it is the responsibility of the translator, as an expert in the performance of translation, to create a target text that will satisfy the criteria stated in the brief (Vermeer, 1989, p. 228). As the source text forms only part of this brief, it is therefore viewed as the starting point for translational decisions rather than their ultimate arbiter (Nord, 1997, p. 37).

This last claim is commonly seen as illustrating how skopos theory differed from the theories that historically preceded it. Anthony Pym, for example, views the shift in thinking came with the rise in skopos theory as being the move from viewing Translations as texts – and therefore subject to linguistic analysis alone – to seeing them as projects, and thus subject to considerations from other fields such as Sociology, Marketing and the ethics of communication (2009, pp. 45–46, 49). He relates the former, textual, perspectives on Translation to theories of equivalence, which argued that Translators should base their decisions on aspects of the source text, such as its text type, genre and the intentions of the original author(s) as they may be apparent in the text itself (*ibid*, pp. 46-48). Viewing Translations as projects, however, means that this (text-)linguistic approach is viewed as only one of many, with different *skopoi* leading to different Translations of the same source text

exclusively to the practice of written translation. However, the field which covers both will be referred to as Translation and Interpreting Studies to avoid privileging either practice in the discussion of theory.

¹¹ For the sake of simplicity, I will follow Nord’s use of terminology for the rest of this chapter.

(Vermeer, 1996, p. 15). This approach to Translation can therefore be summed up in what Nord calls the skopos rule, which is as follows:

translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely the way they want it to function. (Vermeer, 1989, p. 20; Nord, 1997, p. 29 translating)

Skopos theory situates Translation within a wider network of social interactions, in which the Translation occupies a given space that is not necessarily connected to the space that was occupied by the source text. This is reflected in terminological distinctions that appeared in skopos theory to allow the perceptions of different participants to be distinguished.

Vermeer, for example, draws a distinction between the “aim” of a text as the reason that the source text creator had for preparing the text (Vermeer, 1996, p. 6) and the “function”, which is the purpose that the readers of a text infer from it (*ibid*, p. 7). These terms are used in addition to the “skopos”, which he sees as the purpose assigned to the translation by the commissioner (*ibid* p. 6). This distinction is important as Translators are both text receivers and text producers and therefore according to Vermeer, it is possible that the skopos of a Translation may not coincide with the function that its receivers infer from it (*ibid* p. 6-7). Similarly, he claims that the difference between aim and function means that translators can only make decisions based on what they perceive is the will of the client (*ibid* p. 79). For this reason, he also argues that a more precise brief will lead to a better Translation by providing more detail on its skopos (Vermeer, 1989, pp. 227–228). The client who prepares the brief therefore plays an important role in the Translation process, making translation an “interpersonal” interaction (cf. Nord, 1997, p. 18) and it is this interpersonal aspect which will now be examined.

3.1.2 Translation as interpersonal

The previous section sought to show how viewing Translation as “intentional” (Nord, 1997, p. 18) in skopos theory represented a paradigmatic shift from text-centred analysis to attempts to understand Translation as situated in a wider social world, in which its existence is dependent on the intentions of the people who commission it.

Vermeer's (1996, pp. 32–33) example of a Brazilian businessman who wishes to export shoes to Germany is a useful illustration of this view. He argues that the production of a translation in such cases is not an end in itself but instead is seen as a step towards the businessman achieving his final goal: exporting shoes. Similarly, should the German counterpart of the Brazilian businessman wish to take part in negotiations, Vermeer says that more translation will be required and again the translation will be used as a way of increasing the chances that these negotiations will be successful (*ibid* p. 32). In both cases, Vermeer suggests that notions of accuracy and faithfulness are only relevant inasmuch as the information in the documents must be presented accurately for the translation to fulfil its *skopos*. The *skopos* of the translation is therefore viewed as the determining factor for all translation decisions, whether they are related to how the translator will approach the text as a whole or to decisions about the treatment of individual text segments (Vermeer, 1989, p. 228, 1996, p. 15).

This would seem to make the Translator subject to the requirements of the *skopos*, leading to Vermeer's position has been represented as "the end justifies the translation" (Pöchhacker, 1995, p. 34; Nord, 1997, p. 124). This view gives no guidance to help translators discover whether a particular purpose for a specific translation is legitimate or not (Nord, 1997, p. 124; Pym, 1997, p. 91). Indeed, Vermeer has suggested that any theory of Translation should be "value free" (1996, p. 83), leaving the moral and ethical limits of translation to be defined on a case-by-case basis (Vermeer, 1989, p. 234). This separates discussions of the ethics of Translation decisions from the theories that seek to describe and explain it.

This position is at the heart of the central theoretical debate within *skopos*. In reaction to Vermeer's "value free" position (Vermeer, 1996, p. 83), Christiane Nord introduced the concept of "loyalty" to cover what the translator's commitment both to the clients and text producers they work with and to the culture within which they work (Nord, 1997, pp. 123–125). This takes the idea of translators being intercultural experts that already existed in Vermeer's work (e.g. 1989, p. 228) and adds to it an interpersonal, social responsibility. Put another way, while Vermeer's work emphasised that any *skopos* was possible; Nord's work argues that not every *skopos* is legitimate (e.g. 2002, p. 37). This view would put discussions of the ethics of certain Translation decisions at the heart of theoretical debate.

Nord maintains that her concept of loyalty is therefore a "corrective force" (2002, p. 34) against what she viewed as the extremes of Vermeer's position. It would also seem to be a

possible answer to Pym's argument that Vermeerian skopos theory left Translators as service providers with no ethical space of their own (Pym, 1997, pp. 92–93). In Nord's conception of loyalty, it is precisely because Translators have their own ethical space that they have responsibilities to the parties with whom they work (1997, pp. 125–128).

The question remains, however, as to how this responsibility can operate in practice. While Nord's discussions of loyalty seemed to argue that Translators are equally responsible to all parties involved in the Translation situation (e.g. 1997, p. 128, 2002, p. 4), her own examples suggest that there is an order of priority. In one example that she cites, a German translator turned an ideologically-charged novel celebrating the achievements of communist Cuba into a seemingly objective account, complete with hints that there were problems behind the country's achievements (Nord, 1997, p. 126). Nord's reaction to this was not to praise the translator for negotiating ideological difference but instead to criticise their decision to alter the tone of the book in the face of both commercial and political pressures (*ibid*, p. 127). This clearly presents an order of priority in which the interests of the source text author prevail over other considerations, perhaps even the translator's financial future – especially given her argument that the translator should have refused to carry out the translation if the author's original intentions were not to be respected (*ibid*). Yet it would be incorrect to represent Nord's conception of loyalty as simply re-establishing authorial priority, since the next example in the same source praises a translator for softening the emotional impact of a phrase found in a Spanish educational textbook (*ibid*, pp. 127). The order of priority therefore seems to be open to negotiation on a case-by-case basis, in much the same way as Vermeer argued that the limits of Translation should be renegotiated each time (Vermeer, 1989, p. 234).

It is unclear, therefore, to what extent Nord's concept of loyalty (1997, pp. 125–128) represents a departure from Vermeer's initial "value free" position (1996, p. 83), which itself argued for case-by-case renegotiation. What it does seem to do, however, is foreground the importance of the individual participants within the Translation process. While it would seem that no particular actor gains any kind of precedence from the addition of loyalty, by suggesting that the Translator must negotiate between the interests of the different parties (Nord, 1997, p. 128), Nord argues that even the legitimacy and hence the operationalization of the skopos is subject to social factors.

Precisely how Translators should negotiate with their communicative partners is a matter of some debate. Nord argues that if the Translator finds themselves in a position where they are required to break cultural conventions or go against the expectations of any of the parties their loyalty would require them to declare not just that they have done so but the reasons behind their decision (1997, p. 125). This, in her view, allows for greater trust between the parties and may even lead to the Translator being granted more freedom in terms of translation strategies than they had to begin with (*ibid*, p. 126). However, the nature of interpreting, especially interpreting in largely monologic settings such as sermons or simultaneous conference interpreting would seem to render this solution improbable given that there is a high cognitive cost for interpreters interrupting their own output for any reason (see Shlesinger, 1994; and the effort models in Gile, 2009). At a minimum, this solution would involve proceedings being halted for the target audience, with a high likelihood that information from the continuing source text would be lost.

Conceptions of loyalty in interpreting therefore tend to be much less fluid and less omnidirectional than the one given by Nord (1997, pp. 125–128). There seem to be two main alternative solutions. The first, and most traditional, seems to be to temporarily shelve the idea of interpersonal loyalty and instead describe the role of the interpreter in purely textual terms. This would seem to be the underlying logic behind the “normative role” discussed in chapter 2, which conceives of interpreting as a code switching operation. Scholars such as Clifford (2004) have recognised that this approach tends to depersonalise and decontextualize interpreting, much as recent work on client expectations has argued that previous attempts to define “quality” in interpreting have tended to marginalise the importance of the specific context in which an instance of interpreting takes place (see Eraslan, 2011, p. 25 and section 2.2.3 above). In both cases the expectations of clients are seen to have little significance, since it is the end product of interpreting that is important, rather than how it is received.

The second solution involves attempting to understand the context in which interpreting takes place and using this to posit the interpreter’s loyalties. This seems to be the solution adopted by Daniel Gile who argued that, in professional conference interpreting, interpreters owe their primary duty to the party who paid them (2009, pp. 33–34). This would seem to be a return to Vermeer’s (1996, p. 13) position that the purpose given by the client should prevail over all other considerations, with the sole addition being that translators and interpreters may reject a job for ethical reasons (Gile, 2009, p. 33). Where Gile’s view differs from the position set

forward by Vermeer (1996, p. 13) is that he claims that professional considerations require that, once the translator has taken into account the requirements of the brief given by the client, the interpreter's next priority will be to serve the aims of the sender, given that interpreters normally function as the sender's "*alter ego*" (Gile, 2009, p. 34 emphasis in original). The precise nature of this "*alter ego*" role is not made clear but it seems to involve the interpreter favouring, it not taking on entirely, the position of the speaker inasmuch as this is possible within the bounds of their loyalty to their paying client (*ibid*, pp. 34-35). That Gile paints this view of professional loyalty as opposing the normative view of the interpreter as an impartial conduit (*ibid*, p. 34) would seem to be further evidence that this role includes the purposeful adoption of the position of the speaker. In fact, Gile raises the possibility that the interpreter's own moral or religious convictions and their social or political background might make it more challenging for them to adhere to the "*alter ego*" role in specific cases (*ibid*, p. 35). This role therefore seems to require the subjection, even if only temporary, of the opinions and position of the interpreter to those of the client, as might be suggested by the common professional practice of adopting first person pronouns to represent the speaker and explicit phrases such as "the interpreter" when it is deemed necessary to step out of the "*alter ego*" role (see *ibid*, p. 34).

The conceptions of loyalty found in the work of Nord (1997, pp. 125–128) and Gile (2009, pp. 33–35) therefore represent two diverging ways of framing the position of the interpreter within an interaction within approaches that are broadly compatible with skopos theory. Nord, coming from the perspective of wishing to attenuate the almost unlimited power afforded to interpreters in the view of skopos theory found in the work of Vermeer (1989, 1996, 1998), sought to impose an omnidirectional but by no means entirely balanced responsibility to the other parties in the Translated interaction (Nord, 1997, p. 125). The practical application of this was to require Translators to furnish explanations of any decisions that would seem to go against their responsibility to anyone else involved in the interaction (Nord, 2002, p. 4). Gile's view, on the other hand, is based on the commercial nature of professional interpreting and thus gives the client, whoever they may be, precedence when the interpreter has to decide whose interests they will represent (2009, p. 33). While this may seem to be a simple application of Vermeer's skopos-centred view of translation (e.g. Vermeer, 1996, p. 13), the differences between the two become more clear when Gile argues that, after the interests of the client have been served, the interpreter owes

their loyalty to the person whose words they are interpreting at any given time, even to the point of allowing their own interests and views to be put aside temporarily (*ibid*, p. 35).

3.1.3 Translation as partly verbal

The complexity of the interactions between the different participants in the Translation process helps explain why Nord characterised it as a “partly verbal ... interaction” (1997, p. 18). In skopos theory, Translation is not about the search for universally correct target language equivalents of given items in the source text. Instead, the theory sees translation as essentially about communication (Nord, 1997, pp. 10, 11, 16, 17, 2003, p. 34), communication which is always goal-directed and therefore always requires far more complex operations than are allowed for in the traditional equivalence-based or normative approaches.

In this regard, Vermeer’s oft-quoted claim to have “dethroned” the source text (see Nord, 1997, p. 37) represents the shift away from seeing textual analysis as the most apt technique to evaluate the quality of a Translation towards a wider appreciation of its position within its specific context. This understanding of the work of Translators, and hence interpreters, within their specific contexts lies at the heart of Franz Pöchhacker’s adaptation of skopos theory to the analysis of conference interpreting (1995, 2007), which will be analysed in the next section.

3.2 Skopos theory and conference interpreting

As stated in the introduction, researchers interested in client expectations in the mid- to late-1990s sought to fill the theoretical void that was becoming evident in such work by viewing the data generated in their studies as instantiations of skopos theory. Both Mack and Cattaruzza (1995, p. 38) and Vuorikoski (1998, pp. 188–189) suggested that this theory might be able to furnish the conceptual framework that was deemed necessary to improve the relevance and accuracy of the methodological tools used. In both these studies, however, reference to skopos theory is made in fairly general terms, with little discussion as to the details of how it could be applied to any specific context. Such discussion would take place, however, in the work of Franz Pöchhacker, whose work on applying skopos theory to simultaneous conference interpreting (1995) and then much later to media interpreting (2007)

aimed to turn the claims made by skopos theorists into an analytical model for interpreting research. This section will therefore describe and critically appraise this model, before outlining how it will be used in this thesis.

3.2.1 Pöchhacker's model applying skopos theory to interpreting

Before setting out his model, Pöchhacker is keen to point out that there is a major difference between interpreted conferences and translated texts. Whereas clients of written translation commission the production of a single written text, clients of conference interpreting engage interpreters to be involved in the creation of a complex communicative event (Pöchhacker, 1995, p. 35). It follows then that, while translation scholars discuss the skopos of an entire text before examining the skopos of individual text segments (cf. Vermeer, 1989; Nord, 2003), skopos-based research into conference interpreting would begin at the level of the entire event, which Pöchhacker (1995: 35-36) terms the “hypertext.” It is the skopos of the hypertext, that is of the entire interpreting assignment, that Pöchhacker sees as the foundational category for analysis, as it determines the kinds of audience and texts that will be encountered and thus the interpreting strategies required (1995, pp. 35–36, 2007, p. 126).

At this hypertextual level, Pöchhacker foresees researchers attempting to classify the conference type they are researching, following a typology such as the ones sketched by Gile (1989) or Alexieva (1997). This could lead to the production of a diagrammatic representation of the conference type, in terms of variables such as the cultural homogeneity of the attendees, the flow of information and the use of visual support material (Pöchhacker, 1995, pp. 36–37). By borrowing heavily from work on conference typologies, this framework carries the assumption that these typologies allow the researcher to access at least enough salient features of the conference skopos as are necessary to enable analysis at the lower levels of the framework. It is also important to note this entails an assumption, even in the most recent forms of the model, that the skopos of the event exists independently of the both the institutions in which the event takes place and perceptions of those involved in it. In both the earlier (1995, p. 37) and later (2007, p. 127) diagrammatic representations of his model, Pöchhacker draws the skopos as a feature of the “event” as a separate and subordinate category from “translational action”, which is posited in later work as covering all instances of Translation and as a superordinate category to the “situation”, the level at which the

perceptions of those attending the event come into play, as shown in the reproduced diagram below.

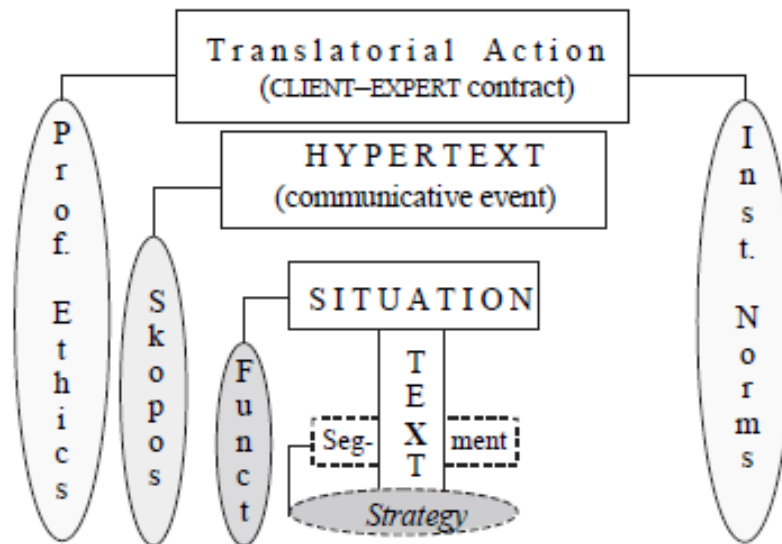


Figure 4. Pöchhacker's multi-level analytical framework. Reproduced from Pöchhacker (2007, p. 127).

It is at this situational level, which Pöchhacker defines as “a constellation of interactants, with their roles and sociocultural backgrounds and their mutual knowledge, assessment and orientation” (2007, p. 126), that the research question for this thesis comes into play. In the earlier iteration of this model, Pöchhacker suggested that work on the relationship between hypertext skopos and client expectations would offer a useful support to the view, common in Interpreting Studies, that there are distinct meeting types that require different interpreting strategies (1995, pp. 35–36). While it is not indicated on the diagram, it is therefore possible to view Pöchhacker's argument here as positing a causal link between the hypertext skopos of a given event and the expectations of the clients involved in a given situation. This suggests a much more direct link between skopos and function than is present in earlier work on skopos theory (see section 3.1.1 above).

Hypothesising a causal link between hypertext skopos and stakeholder expectations can be justified in two related ways. The first justification is to view it as a logical extension of Pöchhacker's framework (1995, 2007), which, as was already illustrated, placed the hypertext skopos above the level of the communicative situation in which interpreting takes place.

Whole neither of the versions of this framework contain explicit references to causality, the very fact that Pöchhacker analyses the role of individual texts and individual interpreter decisions in the light of the overarching skopos (1995, pp. 38, 44-48) is evidence that at least indirect causality is deemed to be present. Indeed, if the framework is read as purely descriptive and no causality is assumed to exist between the individual levels, then there is no grounds to argue that “interpreting strategies for a given text segment cannot be dissociated from the multiple levels of ‘context’” shown in the model (Pöchhacker 2007, p. 127).

What applies to interpreting strategies would seem to apply also the stakeholder expectations, especially given in the framework to the attitudes and intentions of the interactants as perceived by the participants (see Pöchhacker 2007, p. 126). For this reason, the framework can be read as positing that interactants come to a certain kind of event – determined by the hypertext skopos – with a certain set of expectations that are activated by this event type. This is entirely logical: one would expect that a high-level scientific conference, for example, would draw in an audience group with different “roles, perceptions, dispositions, and intentions” (Pöchhacker 1995, p. 37) than a meeting of small business leaders. Conversely, as will be argued more thoroughly in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, unless the same typologies used by researchers to define the conference are assumed to be equally accessible to stakeholders, the value of these typologies in determining the hypertext skopos is doubtful.

A further justification for this reading can be found by returning to the work of Hans Vermeer, who as this chapter has already explained (see section 3.1.1) made a terminological distinction between the “aim” that the source text producer had in mind while preparing the text and the “function” inferred by the target text receiver (1996, pp. 6-7). If this distinction is coupled with his view that translation receivers can and do recognise and respond to text types and interpret texts on this basis (1989, p. 235) then once again, it would make sense that receivers infer a function – and therefore form expectations of a text – on the basis of what they expect from a given text type in the target culture. This is almost identical to the hypothesis produced by foregrounding the implied causality found in Pöchhacker’s (1995, 2007) model, namely that the hypertext skopos, which seems to be based on event typologies, determines stakeholder expectations of the event. While it cannot be taken for granted that these expectations explicitly include interpreting, to the extent that interpreters are viewed as either interactants or standing in for interactants, the existence of such expectations can be inferred.

Although Pöchhacker's framework deliberately foregrounds the conference as a whole and the way actors will interact throughout its duration, there is still space for analysis of smaller units. The individual speeches presented at a given conference comprise the third level of analysis (Pöchhacker, 1995, p. 37, 2007, p. 126). Following the view expressed in skopos theory that texts can only be said to have a function or aim when this is assigned to them by one of the actors in the translation process (Nord, 2002, p. 34), Pöchhacker (1995, p. 37) maintains that the analysis of the function of a given text, which is the starting point for analysis in skopos theory, must take account of both linguistic and sociological variables, as well as the situational dynamics of the conference. It would therefore be important for researchers to note the place and purpose of the speech within the conference. An introductory speech, delivered to welcome attendees to the conference (e.g. *ibid* p. 46) will perform a slightly different function to speeches used to introduce the next speaker (*ibid* p. 42, 45) and might therefore give rise to different culturally embedded expectations. This might include, for example, the ways that different speakers are addressed (*ibid* p. 42-44) or whether the audience will have the opportunity to ask questions once the speech is finished (Gile, 1989, pp. 650–651).

The last level of Pöchhacker's framework is the level of interpreting strategies. At this level, the framework returns to work that is more common in Interpreting Studies: examining the on-line strategies used by interpreters to solve specific problems related to given text elements (Pöchhacker, 1995, pp. 42, 45–46, 2007, pp. 135–140). These could be analysed in terms of the use of different kinds of equivalence or omission (Shlesinger, 1995; Pym, 2008) or in terms of the use of wider cognitive or temporal strategies (Gile, 2009, pp. 201–219). No matter the approach, within Pöchhacker's framework such strategies are primarily seen as ways of producing a text with the requisite function despite the difficulties posed by the problems at hand.

There are, however, some analytical and theoretical problems with this framework in the light of the positions taken by earlier skopos theorists. For the purposes of this thesis, the most important of these is the decision to separate out the hypertext skopos from the views of interactants which, while analytically useful in the context of Pöchhacker's work (e.g. 2007, p. 127), would seem to diverge from the work of Vermeer (1996, pp. 32–33, 79) and Nord (1997, pp. 123–125), who both emphasised the interactional and interpersonal nature of the skopos. In the case of Vermeer's work, this is evident both in his assertion that the Translator

can only work on the basis of what they *perceive* to be the Translation skopos, even when the skopos is clearly written (1996, p. 79 my emphasis added) and his example of a Translation skopos that entailed encouraging an interaction, namely selling shoes (*ibid*, pp. 32-33). In Nord's case, the legitimacy of the skopos itself and the strategies used to achieve it are embedded within the Translator's interpersonal loyalties to the other actors in the Translational event (and see section 3.1.2 above Nord, 1997, pp. 123–125). Implicit in both cases is the idea that the skopos of the Translational event emerges both as part of and as the driver for the interpersonal communication between the interactants that the event entails. This suggests that its nature is also subject to the perceptions of the interactants, including the Translator and the commissioner. Viewing it as separate from the level of this situation and making it analysable via pre-existing typologies would seem to suggest the opposite, namely that it can be objectively measured and analysed, independently of the participants by whom it was created. The importance of this point will be discussed in the next two sections on criticisms of skopos theory (section 3.3) and on the application of skopos theory to this thesis via a modified version of Pöchhacker's model (section 3.4).

A second problem, which will become more significant in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, is the precise relationship between Pöchhacker's uppermost level "translatorial action", which includes "inst. norms" and "prof. ethics" and the "hypertext skopos" defined in the second level (see Pöchhacker, 2007, p. 67). These two aspects of "translatorial action" only appeared in later work, being absent from the 1995 account of this model (Pöchhacker, 1995, p. 37), which had the uppermost slot occupied only by a "general theory of translatorial action". It is therefore most unfortunate that the later account of this model includes no specific account of what these two new variables refer to exactly. It would seem likely that the latter is an abbreviation of "professional ethics", suggesting that ethics are and can be defined or operationalised at a quasi-universal level, a point of contention amongst interpreting scholars (see for example Clifford, 2004; Marzocchi, 2005; Turner, 2005; Dean and Pollard Jr, 2011). More pertinent to this thesis is the question of the construct to which "inst. norms" refers. If this construct refers to institutional norms, such as those investigated by Beaton (2007a), then this would suggest that organisational ideology could play a role in the definition of the hypertext skopos and by extension, in the expectations and behaviour of interpreters, a hypothesis which certainly seems to have some supporting evidence (see Beaton, 2007a, p. 292). In methodological terms, this would add further weight to the need to understand the wider context in which interpreting takes place and the position of both the hypertext and

interpreting within the wider organisational structure. This is a position that will be discussed in chapter 8.

The discussion of both Pöchhacker's model (1995, 2007) and of skopos theory more generally has pointed to the existence of a number of points of contention between different skopos theorists as to how, or if certain features of the sociological context of Translation should be integrated into a general theory. Scholars outside of skopos theory have led a much wider debate as to the validity of the claims of logic of the theory. The points raised in such debates have tended to cluster around two areas: whether skopos theory is empirically plausible in terms of its relation to how Translation is actually performed and whether it is logically coherent, in terms of how different parts of the theory relate to one another. The next section of this chapter will therefore discuss these two groups of criticisms, beginning with those that challenged the empirical basis of the theory.

3.3 Criticisms of skopos theory

3.3.1 Criticisms of the empirical plausibility of skopos theory

The simplest possible criticism of skopos theory would be that it does not represent the way that Translation is actually carried out. This would seem to be the position of Basil Hatim who is quoted by Anthony Pym as asserting that skopos theory failed to recognise that equivalence is the "underlying default norm" of all Translation (Pym, 2009, p. 58). In this view, skopos theory is wrong to assert that the purpose of the Translated text is the driver for both the Translator's behaviour and receiver expectations as these expectations are the same for all Translation.

Obviously, this assumption is an important one for this thesis, even more so if it has empirical merit. However, as chapter 2 argued, the methodological shortcomings of earlier work on stakeholder expectations, coupled with newer work that questions whether researchers and respondents understand terms in the same way suggests that it is not tenable to view "clients want equivalence" as an unquestionable and unproblematic stance. In addition, it has now become common in Translation and Interpreting Studies to view equivalence as being created by the Translator and later (possibly) accepted by its readers or hearers (Pym, 2009, p. 37). Equivalence in this sense would appear to be more of an analytical category or a sociological

construct, rather than a standard against which an act of Translation can be evaluated. The difference of opinion between Daniel Gile and the interpreting clients he surveyed at one bilingual conference (Gile, 1990) would seem to indicate the difficulties faced when trying to define and operationalise equivalence in any given case.

While Hatim's criticism (Pym 2009, p.58) seeks to attack skopos theory for suggesting variety where none is necessary, the criticisms of Tymoczko (2007) and Martín de León (2008) come from exactly the opposite direction. While the precise details of each of their criticisms are subtly different, both accuse skopos theory of being too restrictive in its description of “a single principal purpose” (Martín de León 2008, p.13) as the driving force behind each translation and even behind each action towards the completion of a translation.

For Martín de León (2008, p.14), the main problem with this is that clients, translators and authors may have different purposes for the same project and, even a single party involved in a translation might have several purposes in their mind when they commission or write it. Tymoczko (2007, p.36) also uses much the same argument but adds to this the view that, in some cases, the purpose behind the creation of a source text or its translation is simply not known. Tymoczko (2007, p.35) also argues that skopos theory assumes that intentions, either of source text producers, or clients, or readers are always recoverable by the Translator. The best that Translator can ever achieve then is to work on the basis of what they perceive to be the purpose of the Translation, which would seem to make skopos theory a rather unstable platform for later analysis.

This latter argument bears very close resemblance to Vermeer's (1996, p. 79) view that Translators can only act on the basis of what they perceive to be the skopos of the Translation, an argument that was seen to have great relevance in this thesis in section 3.2.1. Skopos theory therefore does seem to have space for both differences in views of the skopos (see section 3.1.2) and for the idea that the skopos may not always be clear. Pym has argued however, in broad agreement with Tymoczko's (2007, p. 35) position that the possibility that the skopos may be unclear or that it may be subject to different interpretations still remains a weakness of the theory given that the skopos is taken as both the basis of Translators' decisions and later evaluation of the Translation (2009, pp. 57–59). Indeed, even some work within skopos theory has argued that for skopos theory to be a reliable analytical tool, the skopos must be stable and unambiguous (e.g. Sunwoo, 2007).

This critique has very specific relevance to Franz Pöschhacker's application of skopos theory to interpreting, especially given the decision to locate the skopos as being separate from the "situation" as defined by the interpersonal expectations held by the stakeholders (see section 3.2.1). Put simply, if the skopos is subjective and dependent on individual perceptions then it would be difficult to justify the use of existing typologies of interpreter-mediated events to map it as there is no guarantee that the researcher and stakeholders would come to the same conclusions as to the particular event type in view. This helps to explain why the hypertext skopos will be defined as the view of individual stakeholders as to the purpose of the event.

3.3.2 Criticisms of the logic of skopos theory

While the criticisms in the previous section concentrated on the empirical basis of skopos theory, some researchers have criticised the logic used to reach these conclusions. These criticisms can be divided into three sections, all of which in some way question the core premises on which skopos theory is based.

The first, and most subtle, criticism is found in the work of Martín de León (2008), who attempted to trace the conceptual foundations of skopos theory by close examination of its underlying metaphors. She concludes that, despite the theory's attempts to move away from previous, equivalence-based approaches (Martín de León, 2008, p. 7; see also the analysis in Pym, 2009, pp. 45–48), the theory was never quite able to shed all terms related to previous theories. Thus, Martín de León sees Holz-Mänttari's use of the German verbs "transportieren" [to transport] and "rezipieren" [to receive] as well as her use of the terms "message carrier" and "message" as evidence that skopos theory was internally inconsistent in its terminological use: borrowing some terms from equivalence-based theories while simultaneously attempting to disavow them (Martín de León, 2008, pp. 7–8).

Martín de León is not the only scholar to make this point. Pym (2009, pp. 46–50) also traces similarities between skopos theory and equivalence but his argument is based more on the historical development and institutional context of the theory than on the terminology used in the theory itself. In fact, Pym's analysis demonstrates a problem with Martín de León's (2008, pp. 7–8) argument. He points out that, while Holz-Mänttari, whose terms are analysed most closely by Martín de León (2008, pp. 7–8), can indeed be labelled a functionalist, it is

incorrect to label her as a skopos theorist as her theory was developed independently from that of Vermeer's and contains several key differences from the former (Pym, 2009, p. 43). Pym claims that, while Vermeer focuses on the target culture translation purpose, Holz-Mänttari's interests lie in the translator as an expert in cross-cultural communication (*ibid* pp. 49, 50). The idea that Holz-Mänttari's term selections can be used as examples of metaphor usage in skopos theory is therefore highly questionable.

This second criticism argues that the basic principle of seeing Translation as intentional (see section 3.1.1) has been fundamentally challenged by more recent research into mental processes. Martín de León, the strongest proponent of this view, repeatedly refers to the belief that all action is goal-oriented as an example of “folk psychology” (2008, pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 24), a term which seems to have pejorative connotations throughout. A single example will suffice to demonstrate her use of the term.

The intentional model of behavioral [sic] interpretation is part of the folk psychology... . Following this model, we learn to interpret our own and other people's actions as intentional, and we probably assign a high degree of prototype-likeness to those actions that most conform to this interpretation. However, Vermeer's ... contention that intentionality is a condition both necessary and sufficient in order to include a behavior [sic] within the concept of action, renders voluntary actions and reflex acts in a mutually exclusive opposition. This does not seem very plausible from a psychological point of view: Complex activities include minimal actions without a definite intention and automatic acts may serve the same purpose as those consciously controlled. (Martín de León 2008, p.12)

The argument here runs that, while interpreting all actions as intentional is helpful in the early stages of learning, modern psychology has dispensed with such a simplistic view. From this point of view, skopos theory would be helpful as an initial starting point for translation training but could be dispensed with as students learn more advanced ways of understanding their craft (Martín de León, 2008, p. 22). What translators actually require, in her opinion, is a theory based on more modern psychological views, which allow consciously-controlled actions and automatic actions to be understood together (*ibid*, p.20). The overall argument here is that the logic of skopos theory is held to be far too simplistic to be of any sustained use in translation practice and analysis as it reflects assumptions that belong to an earlier, less

sophisticated understanding of psychology, which makes it no longer suitable as a basis for practice (Martín de León 2008, p.22).

A related point is made by Pym, who asks where it is ever possible to talk about Translations that have not fulfilled their skopos if all Translation decisions are determined by the skopos of the translation (2009, p. 58). This view finds Vermeer's acceptance that not all Translations fulfil their skopos (1996, p.7) to be problematic when read in the light of his view that, ultimately, it has to be the Translator who decides or at least interprets what the skopos is (Vermeer 1996, pp.7, 79). If it is the Translator who decides on the skopos on which the Translation will be based, Pym argues that it is very difficult, if not impossible to say that they have failed to fulfil the skopos that they have defined (Pym, 2009, p. 58). This suggests that skopos theory is unfalsifiable since it does not allow the logical possibility of its claims not being true (cf. Popper, 1959, p. 33; Chesterman, 2008, 2010, pp. 2–3).

One attempt to resolve this lack of falsifiability is to appeal to the view that Translators and their clients determine together whether the Translation has fulfilled its skopos (cf. Vermeer, 1996, pp. 7–9; Nord, 1997, pp. 123–125). Leaving the final judgment on skopos fulfilment to the translator and the client, however, gives no space for later analysis by Translation scholars. As a party outside the scope of the skopos and its negotiation and interpretation, the best that later scholars could ever do would be to infer a “function” (Vermeer, 1996, p. 79) for the text which might bear no resemblance at all to the original skopos, a similar problem to that encountered when attempting to classify events according to a given typology (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.1).

While this could be deemed as a fault in the theory, it is indicative of a methodological and epistemological question at the heart of translation and interpreting research. Unless scholars choose to do research on events and translations in which they are actually fully ratified participants and thus addressees (see Bell, 1984, p. 159) of the communication between client(s) and the translator(s) or interpreter(s), they will always be, in some way or another, trying to understand the process and product of this particular instance of Translation from the outside.

The difficulty of analysing whether a translated or interpreted text has fulfilled its skopos, or even what its skopos was, is therefore not only a problem for skopos theory. On the contrary,

it simply throws into relief the importance of the researcher's own position towards both the interpreting situation and the people involved in it. It means that, like Armstrong's study of football hooligans, research on interpreting must be aware of the need for data generated from inside the situation under study (1994, pp. 7–9), while recognising that the narrative and results of such research may be heavily affected by the relationships formed between the researcher and the research subjects (*ibid*, pp.15–17).

As well as indicating areas where research using skopos theory must take account of the innate uncertainty involved with doing research involving translation and interpreting (see Pym 2009, pp.93–94), criticisms of the theory also reveal some fundamental issues in carrying out research in interpreting. Under the first heading, it has been shown that the sheer complexity possible in translation and interpreting purposes puts paid to the idea that it will be feasible to isolate a single, internally coherent purpose in every case. Methods and analysis must therefore be sensitive enough to allow for the conflicts that may arise between the views of different clients and even within the view expressed by each individual. The possibility for internal incoherence also means that it will be far more fruitful to attempt to locate patterns of expectations rather than dissecting a single aspect of client expectations or the expectations of a single individual.

Under the second heading, the complexity and uncertainty of doing research into translation and interpreting is made evident when the difference between the positions of those involved in the interpreted event and those later analysing it are taken into account. The perception that it is dangerous for interpreters to analyse an event in which they are involved is mostly founded on a possible lack of methodological rigour and the risk of generalising from experience (Gile, 1994, p. 154). However, when researchers are not at all involved in the events they analyse, they run the risk of producing work that is completely isolated from interpreting practice and thus of no use to it.

This thesis has sought to cope with the issue in two ways. First, the introduction includes a detailed statement of the position of the researcher regarding the theories, setting and data of this study. It is up to readers to decide at what points this position has had an effect on the study and its outcomes. Secondly, given the possibility that this position may have had an effect on the interpretation of data, this study includes both qualitative and quantitative data and seeks to answer the question using the relationships between each data source.

Stakeholders' own words have been used wherever possible in the Results section to allow readers to examine the author's interpretation of these for themselves. A fuller account of the data collection methods and a rationale for their use can be found in chapter 6.

3.4 The application of skopos theory to the study

In the context of gaining a better understanding of sermon interpreting, skopos theory would seem to offer a useful initial hypothesis. Despite all the modifications made necessary by recent criticism of the theory and despite the likelihood of data revealing ambiguous and contradictory purposes, the central hypothesis that the purpose assigned to an interpreted event determines what client expect of interpreters remains testable. However, even this hypothesis cannot be posited without a few important reservations.

Firstly, it cannot be taken for granted that the skopos defined by the commissioners for the event will be identical or even similar to the function assigned to the event by audience members. This means that, for the sake of parsimony, Pöchhacker's "hypertext skopos" (1995, p.37) will be seen as the purpose of the event as defined by any specific respondent. Rather than treating the hypertext skopos as a category that can be entirely separated from the perceptions of the interactants, this thesis will use this term to refer to the subjective perceptions of the interactants as to the purpose of the event. This fuses Pöchhacker's categories of "communicative event" and "situation" (2007, p. 127) and treats Vermeer's terms "skopos" and "function" (1996, pp. 6–7) as referring to essentially the same concept as seen by different participants. Thus, it does not posit any relationship between the views of intentions of one party and the expectations of another as would be implied if a relationship were sought between the "skopos" as defined by the commissioner (see Vermeer, 1996, p. 6), and the expectations of other clients. Thus, if Vermeerian (see *ibid*, pp. 6-7) terminology is used, the research question could be stated in the following terms:

To what extent does the hypertext skopos defined by the commissioner affect what they expect of interpreters?

To what extent does the hypertext function inferred by the listener affect what they expect of interpreters?

To what extent does the hypertext skopos inferred by the interpreters affect what they expect of themselves?

The second reservation is that, since it is entirely possible that even the purpose given by a single stakeholder may be internally contradictory, the emphasis of this thesis cannot be on the purpose itself but instead on the relationship between this purpose and other categories of client expectations. This shifts the focus of this thesis away from the “clients want x, y and z” approach so typical in the work covered in chapter 2 to an approach that would allow interpreters to predict that, if a stakeholder has a given perspective on the purpose of an event, they will be likely to have a certain perspective on the interpreting at the same event. This moves stakeholder expectations research much further into the realms of correlation and probability and removes any possibility of interpreters being certain that they can fully know stakeholder expectations in advance. In return, it aims to provide a framework that is more able to handle the inherent uncertainty in interpreting and the likelihood that multiple conflicting expectations will exist within the clients at a single event and even within the minds of individual clients.

By emphasising the fact that interpreting is, to use Nord’s (1997, p. 8) phrasing, an “interpersonal interaction,” skopos theory also suggests that the expectations that stakeholders have of interpreters may therefore go much further than a simple set of linguistic competencies. For this reason, following the example of Eraslan (2008), the questionnaires used in this study will allow space for audience members and preachers to give their views on the social role of the interpreters. This, of course, does not exclude the categories suggested by Bühler (1986) but extends them. This extension will also involve the addition of categories which may be specific to the social situation of the conference, the interpreting of Christian sermons. The addition of these criteria will allow the examination of the extent to which these event specific stakeholder expectations are determined by the skopos.

In short, skopos theory, and especially Pöchhacker’s framework, provides a useful theoretical grounding for the analysis of audience and preacher expectations of sermon interpreting even after certain modifications. The theory not only posits a testable hypothesis on the origin of stakeholder expectations but also suggests new categories of expectation to be examined. Much of this contribution stems from an emphasis on the hypertext skopos and the social situation in which this skopos is defined.

Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that other factors will also impinge on stakeholder expectations at a given event. This has especially been the case in church interpreting, where research has consistently pointed to wider theological conceptions and socio-political forces that are seen as shaping the position and work of interpreters. Church interpreting also differs from the kinds of settings normally examined using skopos theoretical tools as much of the interpreting is provided by nonprofessional interpreters. While this in itself is not enough to mitigate against the use of skopos theory as the basis of a theoretical framework, it does mean that other factors unforeseen by the theory may be in play. The next chapter will therefore provide a close examination of the work that has already been carried out in church interpreting, before moving to an examination of how sermons, the most prominent texts in such context, have been understood and on how one particular group of approaches to sermons, the New Homiletics, can provide further insight into the issues involved in interpreting such texts.

Chapter 4

Understanding the Context and Practice of Church Interpreting

The last two chapters concentrated on empirical and theoretical perspectives on interpreting, focussing first on work that has been done to understand stakeholder expectations (chapter 2) and then on skopos theory and its use as a framework for explaining data on these expectations (chapter 3). Those chapters were intended to give much of the theoretical and methodological background for this study. This chapter looks more specifically at the context in which this study takes place: church interpreting. The aim of this chapter is therefore to review the work that has been done on church interpreting, in which four common themes emerge: (co-)performance, the interplay between interpreting mode and interpreter behaviour, the problematic nature of the position of the researcher, and the introduction of a theological dimension into interpreting. The last of these themes appears to be unique to church interpreting or to at least be most evident there. Much like the theme of co-performance, it is closely related to the perceived status of the sermons, which have been the most heavily analysed text genre in church interpreting. For this reason, after the overview of research in church interpreting, a section will be set aside to discuss the nature and common expectations of sermons in protestant churches, the specific context in which data gathering took place. Here, it will be argued that theoretical and pedagogical work on the performance and reception of sermons under the New Homiletics approach is of particular relevance given the recent empirical work on audience expectations of sermons that have resulted from it. Similarities will be drawn between this work and the most recent work on stakeholder expectations of interpreting covered in chapter 2. The final section of this chapter will show how prior research in church interpreting and sermons will be applied in both the theoretical framework and methodological approach taken in this thesis.

4.1 Church interpreting: themes and directions

This section will discuss research that has been carried out in church interpreting so far. Given the very recent development of this field, the kind of chronological approach used in chapter 2 would seem to be inappropriate. Instead, after a discussion of two early papers, this section will focus on each of the four key themes in turn.

4.1.1 Background: early explorations of co-performance issues

The historical roots of church interpreting can be found in interpreting in Judaism, an activity that has been traced back some 2,500 years (Kaufmann, 2005). It would seem that it is only from the last decade, however, that church interpreting has become the subject of concentrated academic research. Some of the earliest studies in Christian churches examined the demands on sign language interpreters in such settings. One early study sought to understand how interpreters in Roman Catholic churches could handle texts that have ritual functions (Borrmann, 2004). In a later study, Jennifer Rayman examined the interpreting provided in a bilingual American Sign Language (ASL)/English church service that took place to dedicate new facilities for an ASL/English bilingual church (Rayman, 2007, p. 73). In this study, Rayman showed how performance and interpreting mode interacted with differences in communicative priorities and spatial placement between the speaker and the interpreter.

During the sermon, the speaker stood on the stage, fully visible to the audience, with full freedom of movement and using a visual language – American Sign Language (ASL); the interpreter was sat on the front row, invisible to the audience and used an oral language, spoken English (Rayman, 2007, p. 88). Faced with the task of rendering a highly performative ASL sermon with explicit spatial and discursal references to earlier anti-Deaf attitudes and behaviours among Hearing communities¹² (*ibid* pp. 76-85), the interpreter in this case attenuated the sharp Deaf/Hearing contrasts set up by the speaker (*ibid* pp. 90-91).

These contrasts, which Rayman views as representing the historically changing attitudes of the Hearing community towards the Deaf community (2007, p. 77ff), was entirely undercut by the interpreter. The speaker's careful referencing of "we" (Deaf) and "we" (the Deaf and Hearing congregations of the church) was transformed by the interpreter into much more generalised labels such as "people" (*ibid* pp. 77, 93-96). Similarly, the interpreter in some cases produced a more depersonalised version by replacing agential phrases such as "Hearing people did not complain" with phrases with no specific actor, such as "there were no

¹² The capitalisation of the terms "Deaf" and "Hearing" is deliberately used here to foreground the perception of these two groups as separate socio-cultural and linguistic entities, rather than simply being defined by physiological differences. Relations between the two groups have often been strained with authors such as Bauman (2004) and Turner (2007) discussing the historical anti-Deaf biases that have been prevalent in many Hearing communities.

complaints” (*ibid* pp. 93-94). In this case, therefore, the spatial differences between the speaker and interpreter seem to have been reinforced by the different labelling practices used in their performances. Following later interviews with the interpreter, Rayman makes the case that the interpreter’s choices were due to her view that the creation and maintenance of such labelling practices served to heighten perceived Deaf/Hearing divisions instead of healing them (*ibid* p. 87, 93).

Thus, in this case, it would seem that differences in spatial positioning created by the specific interpreting mode and differences in labelling practices between the preacher and interpreter may actually have served to maintain the very same distinctions between Deaf and Hearing that the church exists to heal (cf. Rayman, 2007, pp. 73–74). In terms of spatial positioning, while the on/offstage contrast between the speaker and interpreter existed to allow the interpreter to see the speaker adequately (*ibid* p. 87), it created the awkward situation – albeit one familiar to users of simultaneous interpreting between oral languages – of the movements of one person being accompanied by the voice of another (*ibid* p. 88). Thus the rhetorical positioning of the two groups in the speaker’s talk as two equal but different groups occupying different physical space (*ibid* pp. 74, 77ff), would seem to be undercut by the very fact that, for as long as interpreting was taking place, this could not be represented physically in the church service.

Rayman’s study, like most of those that followed, therefore emphasised that church interpreting involves a complex interplay between social and theological factors and the specific mode in which the interpreting is performed. The difference in spatial positioning and therefore the performative techniques seems to have combined with differences of opinion as to how best to perform the unification of the two groups in the sermon. While it could be argued that sociological and performative factors bring complexity to all forms of interpreting, later research would suggest that these are especially salient in church interpreting.

One early study that provides further evidence for this is the work of Alev Balci, who studied the expectations that church leaders have of interpreters in an evangelical Pentecostal church Turkey, an officially secular country, where Christians are a minority group (2008, pp.38–39). Interpreting in this case seems to be viewed as having theological as well as linguistic significance, characterised by the repeated insistence interpreters share the convictions of the

speaker, to the point of showing personal commitment to what was said and what they are saying in the sermon, called “involvement with the heart” by one respondent (*ibid*, pp.54–55). This led to interpreters being expected to take on many of the functions of a speaker in their own right – employing omission, explicitation, cultural adjustment and similar strategies with the aim of rendering the text more acceptable to those in the target culture by minimising the possibility for offense (*ibid* pp. 51-52, 60-62). The corollary to this is the view, held by the respondents in her study, was that those who are not Christians would be unable to perform church interpreting adequately (*ibid* pp. 56-58). Thus, while some respondents did suggest that non-Christians would struggle to interpret in church due to difficulties with context-specific terminology, even this was seen as a reflection of the need for the interpreter to share the same ideology as the preacher, rather than as something that could be resolved by prior preparation (*ibid*, pp. 52-53).

In Balci’s work, it would seem that the sociological reality of the insecure position of Christianity within Turkey interacted with the theological perception that interpreting expressed the heart of the interpreter and the performative difficulties that arise when speakers are unaware of the differences between the source and target cultures (Balci, 2008, pp. 51–54). This interaction would seem to explain why interpreters in her study were expected to play such an overt role in assuring that preaching was successful.

In both studies, interpreters seem to hold significant power and responsibilities. In Rayman’s study, this is exemplified in the interpreter’s perception of the potentially negative consequences of adopting the same labelling practices as the speaker. In Balci’s study, this is realised in the requirement for interpreters to be in ideological agreement with the message and thus help it to be well received. These early studies therefore provided evidence of a relationship between interpreting strategies such as omission or generalisation and the interplay between the source language sermon and the context in which it was delivered. This would seem to be consistent with Pöchhacker’s framework (1995, 2007) explained in section 3.2.1. It also suggests that the function of interpreting here goes far beyond attempts to reproduce the propositional content of the source text. Instead, the findings of these two early studies on church interpreting suggest that church interpreting carries organisational and theological signification by its very existence. Attempting to understand this signification has been at the heart of much research in church interpreting, with scholars often turning to ideas from performance studies or to concepts from Theology. The next sub-section of this chapter

will therefore examine the ways in which church interpreting has been read as a kind of performance.

4.1.2 Performance in church interpreting

The term “performance” is deliberately used in this chapter to encapsulate the way that personal and social pressures converge in the selection and deliberate deployment of linguistic and paralinguistic signs by speakers and interpreters when they produce their texts for an audience. This use of this term is in keeping with developments in homiletics – the study of sermons (see section 4.2 below) – where the focus has now moved from the propositional content of a sermon to the holistic treatment of the relationship between its content, delivery and subsequent reception by the congregation (e.g. Bartow, 1997b, 2005; Allen, 2004).

This term “performance” is also used in this thesis to suggest that performers will be consciously aware of playing a role, given that such awareness has often been seen as one of the fundamental characteristics of performance (e.g. Hymes, 1975, pp. 13, 18; Bauman, 1984, p. 11; Carlson, 1996, pp. 3, 5–6), as has the physical co-presence of the audience and performers (Singer, 1959; Schmit, 2008, p. 80), which facilitates this role playing. In wider interpreting literature, the co-presence of the text producers and receivers of both texts has been seen as a salient feature of interpreting (cf. Wurm, 2014, pp. 2, 4, 12), even if, as shall be discussed later, such co-presence may be virtual or theological rather than physical. Performance theorist Marvin Carlson has argued that such co-presence produces a sense of tension between the requirements of the role that performers are conscious of playing and their self-awareness and responsibility as human beings (1996, pp. 54–55). This tension has been encapsulated as the “not me ... not not me” paradox, where a performer is conscious of being “not me” due to the conscious playing of a role but yet “not not me” due to the awareness that there is still a person behind the role, even if this is suspended for the present time (Schechner, 1985, pp. 110–112).

This kind of socio-theological performance seems to have been at the heart of the interpreting examined by Cécile Vigouroux, which took place in “Glory Gospel Church” in Cape Town, South Africa (hereafter GGC) (2010, p. 342). GGC was, until the arrival of the researcher, made up entirely of immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo to South Africa who

all spoke French, the language of the sermon (*ibid*). It would seem that there was therefore no reason for interpreting to arise in this context, yet on-stage short consecutive interpreting was provided into English, which involved the speaker and interpreting taking turns to give short segments at a time (*ibid*, pp. 342, 352-357). This interpreting was performed in such a way that, according to the researcher, the English target text was incomprehensible without knowledge of French (*ibid* pp. 342, 352, 355-356). In addition, Vigouroux argues that the interpreter often stepped out of his role as a linguistic mediator, adopting instead the position of a respondent to the sermon (*ibid* pp. 352-357) or of an independent interlocutor (*ibid* pp. 358-360). For this reason, Vigouroux views the role of the interpreter in this case as that of a co-performer alongside the source text speaker, with the source and target texts intermingling and becoming a single, multilingual and theologically-framed performance (*ibid* pp. 342ff, 361-364).

At least a partial explanation for this may be found in the nature of the historical and theological framing of the interpreting investigated by Vigouroux. On the historical side, Vigouroux argues that the provision of interpreting in GGC can be traced back to models established by preachers who visited the Democratic Republic of Congo from English-speaking countries and who therefore worked regularly with interpreters (2010, pp. 342–343). Theologically-speaking, providing interpreting was also required by the vision of the church to be a multilingual congregation, welcoming anyone from the surrounding areas of South Africa and from francophone Africa more widely (*ibid* pp. 344-345, 349). This vision also dovetailed neatly with the church's felt need to legitimise itself in the South African Pentecostal community, which previously viewed the church as sectarian (*ibid* p. 349). In this light, Vigouroux viewed the multilingual performance of the sermon as a performance of the inspired and inspiring nature of the sermon, since the interpreter demonstrated signs of being affected by the sermon through their words and actions (*ibid* p. 342), and of the openness to the church to the surrounding geographical communities (*ibid* pp. 349, 351).

While taken to less extreme lengths, the view that the source and target texts are viewed by all stakeholders as one performance – which will be labelled the ‘single performance hypothesis’ hereafter – might also explain some of the interpreting behaviour found in other studies, especially in cases where similar forms of consecutive interpreting are used. A study by Jill Karlik, of on-stage short consecutive church interpreting in Methodist churches in Gambia, for example, found a need for rapport building between the interpreters and the

audience (2010, p. 171) and a common emphasis among stakeholders on partnership between speakers and interpreters, which mostly took the form of speakers waiting politely while interpreters worked (*ibid* p. 168). This would seem to suggest that the two performances are, at the very least, interdependent.

Ironically, this same ‘single performance hypothesis’ might also explain why audience members in the church studied by Rayman were consistently less satisfied listening to interpreted sermons than to sermons in their source language (2007, p. 88). Given the spatial differences explained in section 4.1.1, as well as the unavoidable delay between a preacher speaking or signing something and it being interpreted (*ibid*) it is entirely possible that it became harder for audience members to receive the source text and target text as part of the same performance – even if the interpreter and preacher had not held divergent views on community labelling.

This hypothesis also might help to add a further layer of explanation to the expectations placed on interpreters in the church studied by Balci (2008). It would suggest that respondents’ pleas for visiting speakers to be aware of the social and religious mores of Turkish culture (*ibid* p. 49-51) were not simply pleas for cultural awareness but for preachers to deliver a text that interpreters could safely perform, given their already precarious position as Christians in a nominally secular but majority Muslim country (see *ibid*. 38-39). The single performance hypothesis has even more direct explanatory power for the view, which arose repeatedly among her respondents, that non-Christians would not perform church interpreting adequately (*ibid* pp. 51-54). In this case, the hypothesis suggests that what is at issue is not merely understanding of terminology (e.g. *ibid* p. 53) but of personal involvement and commitment to what is said (compare with *ibid* p. 55) and hence the ability to successfully negotiate the “not me ... not not me” paradox (see Schechner, 1985, pp. 110–112 and above). This suggests that the interpreter’s “loyalty” in skopos theoretical terms (see section 3.1.2) is viewed in terms of their commitment to the success of the sermon in this particular context rather than to any of the participants present.

Vigouroux’s original reason for formulating the single performance hypothesis was to describe the role of the interpreter in the light of data showing them stepping out of the normative role by using their turns in short consecutive interpreting to act as an audience member or independent interlocutor (2010, pp. 352–360). In this case, the turn-taking

necessitated by the form of consecutive interpreting used enabled the interpreter to adjust their role. There was therefore a clear link between the mode of interpreting adopted and the behaviour of the interpreter. As short consecutive interpreting appears to be the most common mode studied in church interpreting research, it is unsurprising then that issues arising from the use of this mode have been a recurrent theme in research. The next subsection will examine how this theme has been treated in work published to date.

4.1.3 The interplay between interpreting mode and interpreter behaviour

With the exception of the study by Rayman (2007), all of the research examined so far in this chapter has looked at church interpreting performed in on-stage short consecutive interpreting. It may be, therefore, that the single performance hypothesis represents the outcome of the physical co-presence of the interpreting and speaker on stage. Another result of this co-presence is the need for close co-ordination of turn-taking between the speaker, interpreter and, in some cases, the audience.

Karlik (2010, pp. 168–169) points out that the price paid for speakers disregarding the need for co-ordination by speaking over the interpreter is the loss of information and hence a less adequate performance by the interpreter. Similar results were found by Kenneth Odhiambo, Eunice Nthenya Musyoka and Peter M. Matu in a study of church interpreting in evangelical Pentecostal churches in Kenya, in which interruptions by the speaker caused interpreters to abandon interpreting the segment they had started (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 194–195). Likewise Eunice Nthenya Musyoka and Peter N. Karanja, in their related study of church interpreting in Kenya (2014, p. 202), found that extended source language turns were linked to more mistakes in the interpreters' output. The polar opposite of this latter result is the early work of the author of this thesis on English to French short consecutive interpreting at a Christian youth conference in France. Here, a correlation was found between the number of turns speakers used to complete their sentence and the number of more hesitations, pauses and false starts in the interpreter's rendition of the same sentence (Downie, 2010).

It does seem possible, however, that interpreters can adapt to the demands of short consecutive interpreting, even to the point of adopting customised strategies. In the work of Jill Karlik, the insertion of linguistic structures such as “which you remember” or “which you know” into the target text, were read as attempts by interpreters to improve cohesion between

turns in this mode as well as being performative markers that indicated a wish to explicitly include the audience in communication (2010, p. 173). In this case, the dynamics of short consecutive interpreting seemed to be used as a tool to help the audience feel more involved in the sermon.

Conversely, it does not seem to be the case the use of simultaneous interpreting in church practice necessarily distances interpreters from performance. The work of Sari Hokkanen on Finnish to English interpreting in a church in Tampere, Finland (2012, 2013, 2014), which will be examined in more detail in section 4.1.4, has shown that personal commitment on the part of the interpreter can result in the same kind of connection between the interpreter and the sermon that seems to be required in the work of Alev Balci (2008 and section 4.1.1 above). In the case of interpreting in Tampere, Hokkanen argues that the requirement for the interpreter to be personally committed to the ideology of the church (2012, p. 306) goes much further than simply agreeing with the content of the message by presenting a case where she, as a church interpreter, was personally affected by the material she was interpreting (2014). This would seem to be an extreme case of the single performance hypothesis in operation, with the interpreter being simultaneously the audience affected by a sermon and its principal for the target audience.

It would seem to be the case therefore that church interpreting has uncovered a link between the ideological position of the interpreter and the work they undertake. While it would seem that ideological commitment to the values of the church forms an initial and indeed fundamental qualification of church interpreters in some of the studies already discussed (see also section 4.1.5 below), it would also seem that this same positioning affects the interpreter's attitude towards the texts themselves and even the strategies they used to interpret them. Thus, it would seem that church interpreters attempt to resolve the "not me ... not not me" paradox raised by Schechner (1985, pp. 110–112) not simply by exchanging the role of impartial conduit for co-performer but by positioning themselves as co-preachers, someone whose engagement with what is performed parallels that of the preacher. In the church interpreting literature discussed to so far, it would seem clear therefore that the interpreting is a theologically- and ideologically-charged act undertaken by people with substantial personal engagement in their work. The next sub-section will discuss how this level of engagement may affect the position of researchers who attempt to understand this phenomenon.

4.1.4 The position of the researcher of church interpreting

In addition to examining the requirement for personal ideological commitment to the organisation in which interpreting takes place, Sari Hokkanen's work also offers a discussion of the position of the researcher in church interpreting and its effect on the methodology and outcomes of the study. As both a researcher and participant in the interpreting she studied (Hokkanen, 2012, p. 293, 2013), her choice to employ auto-ethnography (2012, p. 292) meant that her own prior views on interpreting and on church were always at the forefront of her work. This renders her both the object and subject of her research and meant that personal and theoretical developments in her study were intertwined (*ibid* pp. 306-307). Her discussion on the relationship between church interpreting and existing typologies of interpreter-mediated events (*ibid*, pp. 296-299) for example, is a theoretical discussion in which personal experience and the observed characteristics of the setting in which she interprets are used as data to challenge the universal applicability of such typologies. Personal and social experience therefore becomes a tool for problematizing the validity of supposedly objective theory. Thus, much as the ideological position of the interpreter has been a recurring theme in church interpreting research, Hokkanen's work suggests that the ideological position of the researcher has an impact on the study too.

The positions of the interpreter and researcher interact differently in the work of Cécile Vigouroux (2010). Here, while the researcher began the study as an outsider to the church, problems with the performance of one particular interpreter during a specific church service led to her being asked to take over the role for a single sermon (*ibid*, p. 347). While she justifies her refusal in terms of her own limited terminological knowledge, she goes on to explain that the role of the interpreter in GGC is "a special form of recognition of one's dedication to God" (*ibid*, pp. 347-348), dedication that she scrupulously avoids claiming for herself. Thus, while Vigouroux began her study as an outsider, her continued presence in the church led to the gradual move towards a more complex "insider-outsider" place (*ibid*, p. 346) in which she was given the *de facto* status as a member of the church and an outside researcher. Personal engagement here seems to be a product of the research process, even if this does not necessarily lead to a shift to the kind of participation present in Hokkanen's studies (2012, 2013, 2014).

While it would seem that personal involvement of some kind seems to be common in church interpreting, it is by no means a universal feature of research in this area. In the work of Odhiambo et al (2013) and Musyoka and Karanja (2014), on the same interpreted events in Kenya, the approach taken is much less involved than in the previous two studies. In both cases, interpreting is viewed through the traditional, conduit model (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, p. 190; Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, pp. 196–197) despite occasional references to its social functions (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 190, 192; Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, p. 197). From this theoretical perspective, discrepancies between the source and target texts such as generalisations, omissions and hesitations are viewed as errors, which the authors argue will have a negative effect on the understanding of the target audience (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 195–202; Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, pp. 202–204). The only exceptions to this are the authors' approval of interpreters appealing for help or filling in implied cultural facts (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 201–202). The overall impression from both papers then is that the interpreters, who are described in the third person throughout, were unable to offer accurate interpreting given the performative challenges of interpreting in churches where audience interruptions were normal (Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 190, 195), the use of biblical terminology for which there was no recognised local equivalent (Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, p. 202) and the interpreters' own lack of training (*ibid*, p. 204).

The conclusions and arguments of these papers can be fruitfully compared to the work of Vigouroux in terms of their analysis of the impact of audience interruptions (Vigouroux, 2010, p. 153; Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 195–196; Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, p. 203) and the impact of interpreter interventions that do not reflect the traditional, conduit model (Vigouroux, 2010, pp. 355–360, 362–363; Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu, 2013, pp. 195, 200–202; Musyoka and Karanja, 2014, pp. 204–205). Vigouroux seeks to explain such interventions in terms of the performative role of interpreting within the church as a whole, rather than as a means of passing on propositional content. For her, the decision by interpreters to omit certain performative devices or adopt the position of an audience member reflects the position of the interpreter as both an audience member and co-performer with the preacher (2010, p. 355). Similarly, far from requests for help always being seen as a positive strategy, as they were analysed by Odhiambo et al (2013, p. 201), Vigouroux reads them as interrupting the performance of the sermon by setting up an embedded frame in

which the preacher and interpreter interact and the audience are either implicitly excluded (2010, pp. 357, 359) or in which the audience must shift roles to help the interpreter find terminology (*ibid*, p. 358).

The work of Odhiambo et al (2013) and Musyoka and Karanja (2014) therefore demonstrates a more distanced position of the researchers, which is connected with a conduit-like model of interpreting and analysis of the data that views interpreting in terms of the similarity of the source and target texts. By contrast, Vigouroux's research (2010) shows evidence of a more involved, "insider-outsider" (*ibid*, p. 346) position, which is connected to a view of interpreting as a single multilingual, multi-modal performance, with the source and target texts viewed as working together to constitute this performance. In each case, it would seem that the position of the researcher had an effect on how interpreting was viewed and hence the way that data were analysed and understood.

It would seem that while the position of the researcher vis-à-vis the data and research site has come to the fore in Translation and Interpreting Studies as a whole (see Brownlie, 2009 for a summary), church interpreting research provides very clear case studies of how different positions can lead to different views of the similar data. Whether researchers view divergences between the source and target texts as inaccuracies or manifestations of performative technique seems to depend how they wish to view interpreting itself. In turn, how interpreting is viewed seems to be related, at least in these examples, to the position researchers wish to take to the stakeholders they study.

This discussion of the position of researchers in church interpreting began with the work of Sari Hokkanen, whose auto-ethnographic work showed how her own ideological and professional backgrounds converged in the practice of church interpreting. In her work, there is a third strand, which is also given great weight: the theological significance of interpreting within the church she studied (Hokkanen, 2012, pp. 302–306). It is this theological dimension of church interpreting that will be discussed in the next section.

4.1.5 The theological dimension of church Interpreting

While previous work (Downie, 2014) has sought to plot the theological dimension of church interpreting via the single performance hypothesis, this section will concentrate on the theological importance given to church interpreting by the stakeholders whose views are represented in previous studies.

A very common finding of studies in church interpreting is that stakeholders argue that church interpreting is not simply an interlingual act but a spiritual one, which requires personal connection to God (Balci, 2008, pp. 52–54; Salawu, 2010, p. 132; Vigouroux, 2010, pp. 347–348; Hokkanen, 2012, pp. 291, 305–306). Whether this is expressed explicitly in terms of a requirement for church interpreters to be Christians (Balci, 2008, p. 48) or implicitly in terms of the characteristics that interpreters tend to have (Salawu, 2010, p. 132; Hokkanen, 2012, p. 291), it would seem that the common choice of church members as interpreters (Balci, 2008, p. 52; Karlik, 2010, pp. 166–167; Vigouroux, 2010, p. 347; Hokkanen, 2012, p. 291) represents a deliberate decision to privilege those whose understanding of what is said will be experiential rather than simply intellectual. The logic behind such decisions is clearly articulated by one of the respondents interviewed by Balci who stated:

It's involving mind and heart. And as we say, if a preacher is a communicator, he will always give some reasons for the mind and some pictures for the heart, and somebody who does not understand the Christian message from within can translate and transport the reasons for the mind but will never be able to communicate the picture for the heart. (Balci, 2008, p. 54)

The implication here is that what is necessary for church interpreting is an understanding that goes beyond intellectual knowledge of Christian terminology to personal experience of having lived out the message that is being taught. A later respondent argued that this initial experiential understanding would be evident in how interpreters connect with the target audience, when they said:

“It's also important for the translator to share with his heart and to act and to be involved in the preaching” and “The interpreter needs to be fully involved, and identify with the message, and so it's a heart to heart sharing of the message to the listener.” (Balci, 2008, p. 55)

While it is possible to see traces of Vigouroux's single performance hypothesis (2010, pp. 361–364) here in the suggestion that the interpreter should be “fully involved in the preaching” (Balci, 2008, p. 55), more pertinent to the theological status of interpreting is the fact that this involvement is seen as turning the interpreted text into a “heart to heart sharing of the message” (*ibid*) with the target audience. Interpreting in this conceptualization becomes a personal, perhaps even intimate, interchange between preacher, interpreter and target audience.

It would seem therefore that the perceived theological status of the interpreted sermon is closely linked to the status of the interpreter as a Christian and as a member of the church in these studies. The status of the interpreter as someone with experiential knowledge of Christianity and the ideology of the church is read as enabling them to personally participate in the sermon by sharing it with the target audience. It is possible that the acceptance of the source and target texts as constituting a single, multilingual sermon, as first suggested by Vigouroux (2010) is tied this level of participation. Thus, the performative choices noticed in previous work (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3) may be seen as manifestations of this participation in that the interpreters seek strategies to enable such a multilingual performance to be successful, in whatever terms they choose to measure this success. Core to such performance and to its status within any given church would therefore be how sermons are perceived as a text genre, given that it is the interpreting of sermons that has been the focus of most church interpreting research. While an explicit focus on the place of sermons is rare in church interpreting work, there are theories from Homiletics, the academic field dedicated to the study of sermons, which share much common ground with work in church interpreting. It is to these theories and the results of empirical work inspired by them that this thesis will now turn.

4.2 Sermons in protestant churches

As the previous section suggested, sermons have been at the core of work on church interpreting throughout much of its short history. In every case, these sermons have been delivered within churches that would be classed as protestant. As this is the case for the churches in which the research for this thesis took place (see chapter 6), it is important to understand how sermons are viewed in these contexts and the expectations they engender.

This is especially important given that the single performance hypothesis suggests that the target texts produced by interpreters will be read as forming part of the sermon. The logical result of this is that expectations of interpreters may be linked to the expectations that stakeholders have of sermons, whether they are interpreted or not. This section will therefore briefly outline theoretical and empirical work examining how sermons are understood in protestant churches and the expectations they engender.

Parallel to the shift from positing conduit-model, normative expectations of interpreting to examining expectations of more overt interpreter intervention that has taken place in research on stakeholder expectations of interpreting (see chapter 2), protestant homiletics has experienced a shift from view of preaching that emphasised the semantic content of the written biblical text to theories that privilege the moment of delivery. Historically, manuals and studies on preaching sermons emphasised preparation and the theological content of the particular biblical text in view. The role of the sermon was therefore seen primarily as the transfer of knowledge from the preacher to their passive listeners (McKenzie, 2008, pp. 54–55). The assumption in such views would seem to be that delivery and content can be separated and that the latter is worth much more emphasis than the former. However, in the 1970s, a number of theologians began to question whether this emphasis on content over delivery was sustainable or even welcome (McKenzie, 2008, p. 60; Ottoni-Wilhelm, 2010, pp. 18–19). Instead, their attention turned to theories offering a more holistic view of preaching. Many of their theories would lean heavily on discussions in the field of Performance Studies, which was gaining ground in Literary Criticism. Eventually, these theories would crystallise into the collection of analytical approaches now known as the New Homiletics (Ottoni-Wilhelm, 2010, p. 19).

The development of the New Homiletics has been traced back to the work of Frank Craddock, who began to see preaching as an “event” (Ottoni-Wilhelm, 2010, p. 19). This shifted the focus on homiletics from the textual aspect of preaching, as manifest in sermon manuscripts, to the delivery and reception of preaching, as experienced by the audience as the sermon unfolds. This approach would be further developed in the work of Reformed theologian, Charles L. Bartow, who is often credited with leading the application of theories from Performance Studies to homiletics (Childers, 2008, pp. 155–156; McKenzie, 2008, pp. 56–58; Schmit and Childers, 2008, p. 17). His books *The Preaching Moment: A Guide to Sermon Delivery* (1995), *God's Human Speech* (1997a), and *Effective Speech Communication*

in *Leading Worship* (2005) form much of the theoretical underpinning of current research in the New Homiletics. In the second of these, *God's Human Speech*, Bartow coined the terminology that has now become synonymous with work in the New Homiletics. Here, he labels the work of God in the sermon “*actio divina*” [divine action] (*ibid* p. 36-37, 41, 44, 48ff) and refers to human action as “*homo performans*” [performing man] (*ibid* p. 102-103), terminology which has been adopted heavily by later writers (e.g. Wilson, 2007, p. 29; McKenzie, 2008; Wilson, 2008 etc).

4.2.1 Theoretical and empirical developments of the New Homiletics

The crucial claim of the New Homiletics is therefore that sermons are performances in that they not only explain a Biblical text but proclaim the new reality evoked by it (Bartow, 1997a, pp. 1, 120). This proclamation, while not always leading to immediately perceivable results (Johnson, 2009, p. 7), is deemed to have formative impact on the life of the church and its members (Bartow, 1997a, pp. 55, 60). This central claim therefore led to two related emphases in research. The first was that New Homiletics scholars began to pay great attention to work in Theatre Studies, mime and drama, where the communicative power of body language was explored (e.g. Bartow, 1997b; Childers, 1998; Farley, 2008). This stream of work is epitomised in Jana Childers’ monograph, *Performing the Word: Preaching as Theatre* (1998), where she argues that preachers must discover the key action of a biblical text and reperform this action in their sermons, in much the same way as actors look to uncover the action of a play and invest their bodies in its performance (*ibid*, pp. 44-52).

The second, empirical, stream of research within the New Homiletics is of more direct relevance to this thesis. Since the use of the term performance presupposed the presence of an audience (Hymes, 1975, p. 13; cf. performance theorists such as Carlson, 1996, pp. 5–6 and; Schmit, 2008, p. 180), researchers within the New Homiletics argued that the views of audience members should be taken into account in both sermon preparation and delivery (Wilson, 2008, p. 43). The result of this was a multi-site qualitative study, conducted by a team of nine theologians who sought to study the expectations that audience members had in twenty-eight different protestant churches. Carrying out over 260 interviews (McClure, Allen and Andrews, 2004, p. vii), these scholars published their work in four separate volumes, each of which examined the data in slightly different ways. These volumes are: *Believing in preaching: What Listeners Hear in Sermons* (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005), *Make the*

Word Come Alive: Lessons from Laity (Mulligan and Allen, 2005), *Hearing the Sermon: Relationship, Content, Feeling* (Allen, 2004), and *Listening to Listeners: Homiletical Case Studies* (McClure, Allen and Andrews, 2004).

Of these studies, the book by Allen (2004) offers the most lucid theoretical framework for understanding the data gathered in the study. Based on classical rhetoric, he suggests that audience views of preaching can be divided into three channels. These are *logos*: a preference for the clear exposition of ideas and their connection (*ibid* pp. 2, 42-69); *ethos*: a wish to feel connected to the preacher and able to trust them (*ibid* pp. 2, 18-41); and *pathos*: a wish to feel emotionally affected by the sermon (*ibid* pp. 2, 70-95). Body language, which played such an important role in the New Homiletics, did not appear in the expectations of the audience members interviewed in the study (*ibid*, p. 2).

Across all of the books, expectations can be found that fit each of Allen's (2004, p. 2) channels. Many of the respondents whose views seem to be logos-centric tend to place great importance on the intertextual relationship between the sermon and the Bible. Within this general view, a number of disparate positions are evident. While some audience members echo the more conservative view that the sermon must always reflect the viewpoint that is assumed to be given in the specific portion of the Bible preached (cf. Bartow, 1997a, pp. 37-38, 44; Mulligan and Allen, 2005, p. 36; Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 27, 29-31), others take the view that the preacher must bring their own perspective to bear, even to the point of expressing their disagreement with things that are written in the Bible (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, pp. 37-38; Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 28, 31, 36; cf. Allen, 2008, p. 107).

In addition, the authors state that it was common for such respondents to argue that the sermon must form a bridge between the world of the Bible and their everyday concerns. Audience members stated that they actively look for sermons to take account of the issues they face both in society at large (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, p. 37) and in their personal lives (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, p. 47). Similarly, while some respondents felt that preachers should preach in such a way that they allow for multiple perspectives on the same portion of the Bible (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, p. 40), this view is tempered by the preferences for sermons that stick closely to the structure and concerns of a single portion of the Bible (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, p. 40; Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, p. 26).

These views therefore concentrate on the key ideas of the sermon, their source and their application to life outside the church. They also seem to concentrate on the function of the sermon as a moment when people gather together to gain information on the Bible and how it can be applied to their lives. Typical in this regard is the commonly expressed views that the primary purpose of preaching is to teach or instruct (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, p. 7) and that this involves the passing on of scholarly, academic information about the Bible and its context.

In contrast to this, respondents with ethos-centred views argue that they find it difficult to take in information about the Bible unless they feel some kind of connection with the speaker. On the simplest level, this may be manifest in a desire to hear stories from the preacher's life as they explain the relationship between a Biblical text and the world in which their audience members live (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, pp. 25–33). Going further, respondents often mentioned that their ability to listen to a sermon and connect with what was being said was related to their ability to connect with the preacher outside the preaching setting (Allen, 2004, p. 22). This often was related to how the preacher had interacted with people on a one-to-one basis outside of the sermon (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 70–72, 75–80). In other places, it would seem that the relationship was more nebulous, with respondents commenting that they wished to see a connection between what the preacher said and the life they lived, even if this meant nothing more than how they were perceived during the church service (*ibid*, p. 87).

Lastly, expectations that were more pathos-centred tended to concentrate on the extent to which the sermon inspired or motivated the listener (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, p. 28; Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 10–11). Central to such views is the belief that emotional impact is central to the sermon being memorable and consequently to it being applied later (Mulligan and Allen, 2005, pp. 27–28). In common with ethos-centred views, respondents holding pathos-centred views often stated that they found personal stories to be powerful, yet the impact of these stories tended to be described in emotional terms than in terms of making the preacher more approachable (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 115–116). Where respondents with pathos-centred views tended to diverge from the other groups was that they tended to place more importance on the atmosphere generated in and by the sermon, which was often described with phrases such as “sacred moment” and “[feeling] closer to God” (*ibid*, pp. 112–113).

The researchers do not view these three channels of expectations as being mutually exclusive. On the contrary, Allen (2004, pp. 2–3) likens them to the graphic equalizer settings on a sound desk, where the amount of treble, mid-range or bass frequencies in a single channel can be controlled. Thus, the hypothesis is that all audience members process sermons in ways that are evocative of all of these categories but with one being dominant (*ibid*, pp. 8-11). Thus, in much the same way as research on stakeholder expectations of interpreters has moved from trying to fix what stakeholders want to looking for patterns in their expectations, empirical work undertaken on expectations of sermons has revealed complexity even within the expectations of individual respondents. At the level of entire churches, such complexity is repeated, with the researchers finding no link between denominational background and the channels that were more commonly dominant (Mulligan *et al.*, 2005, pp. 86–87).

Much of the criticism of the New Homiletics has focussed on the view that such interdisciplinary work risks importing epistemologies of communication that are not compatible with those already established in the discipline. Walter C Kaiser Jr, for example, criticises the New Homiletics for reducing the importance of discovering the original historical context of a Biblical text, privileging instead the freedom for new readers and performers to create their own understandings of it (2013, pp. 7–9). Much of this echoes the work of William Willimon, who claimed that the focus on the performance of the sermon within the New Homiletics also led to a corresponding lack of emphasis on the structure and idioms of the Bible itself, which he felt should be central to the sermon (Willimon, 2006, pp. 84–85). In parallel, he argued that modern theories of preaching, in particular the New Homiletics, paid too much attention to the views of listeners and not enough to what the text was saying (2006, pp. 30, 100). These arguments therefore seem to share much in common many of the early concerns expressed about skopos theory in Translation Studies (see section 3.3). In both cases, it would seem that the move from theories centred on the source text (or Biblical text) to theories that placed more emphasis on the experience of the receiver led some researchers to argue that such a shift was unwarranted or even dangerous. However, the empirical research discussed above, undertaken from the standpoint of the New Homiletics, seems to have uncovered data that suggest that such concerns may be unwarranted.

4.3 Application to the study

This chapter has argued that Cécile Vigouroux's single performance hypothesis (2010, pp. 342, 361–364) offers a useful theoretical basis for research into the expectations of stakeholders of church interpreting. If, in such contexts, the source text sermon and the target text produced by the interpreter function as a single multilingual performance then it would seem probable that expectations of church interpreters will be closely related to expectations of the texts being interpreted.

This would seem to relate very closely to Franz Pöchhacker's framework for understanding the relationships between context, interpreting strategies, texts and expectations of conference interpreting (1995, 2007). In both cases, the expectations that interactants have of each other are seen to affect their expectations of the texts they will experience during the event. These texts, in turn, then go on to affect interpreter behaviour (see sections 3.2.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.3). In both cases, the way in which interpreting is perceived and received is expressed as a function of the context in which it takes place and the demands of the particular text the interpreter is dealing with at any given moment.

In the case of this study, and indeed in most church interpreting research, the texts most commonly interpreted are sermons. Operationalising the single performance hypothesis in this study therefore involves the creation of a framework in which expectations of sermons can be analysed and related to expectations of interpreters. Here, the empirical work that has arisen from the New Homiletics seems to have great potential as it provides both a theoretical framework for describing expectations and initial data analysed using this framework. Conclusions from one multi-site study suggest that expectations of sermons are complex, at both group and individual level. Analysis of these expectations therefore does not tend to isolate a single, universal and unchanging set of expectations for each setting but instead suggests that, for a given individual, one channel of expectations will be dominant.

If the single performance hypothesis is combined with the methodological insights from empirical work on expectations of sermons, it is possible to posit a link between the dominant channel of expectations than an individual has of sermons and their expectations of the interpreters working on them. Those for whom logos-based views of sermons are dominant may tend towards a more conduit-model set of expectations of interpreters given the prominence they give to the ideas of the sermon and how they are expressed. Those with strongly ethos-based expectations may tend towards strategies that favour the explicit

inclusion of the audience in preaching, such as those identified by Karlik (2010, p. 173). Lastly, those with pathos-based expectations of sermons may tend towards expecting interpreters to be personally and emotionally engaged with the sermon, as exemplified in the work of Hokkanen (2014).

In short, theoretical and empirical work in church interpreting and homiletics allows the creation of specific hypotheses as to the relationship between expectations of the source texts and expectations of interpreters. These allow further refinement of Pöchhacker's model (1995, 2007) by identifying specific aspects of each of his categories that can be measured and compared. The next chapter will therefore briefly recap the hypotheses that have been built up so far in the review of the literature, presenting a pictorial model of the relationships posited so far and explaining how this model is to be operationalised in this thesis.

Chapter 5

Modelling Client Expectations

The last three chapters have sought to show how stakeholder expectations have been investigated and theorised and how this work can be applied to investigations of church interpreting. This chapter will briefly reiterate the conclusions of these chapters while demonstrating how their key hypotheses can be brought together in a single model of client expectations.

5.1 Summary of chapter conclusions and application of these conclusions to the thesis

In the second chapter of this thesis, existing work on client expectations was discussed. A key argument was that, while studies tend to be methodologically related, with surveys predominating this area of research, differences in the timing and location of the surveys and in the survey items used makes it difficult to uncover any general patterns. The two distinctions found in the work of Eraslan (2008, p. 11) between work on “quality” and work on the “role” of the interpreter, and between the “normative role” of the interpreter and their “typical role” were discussed. It was argued that these distinctions point to the possibility that much work on stakeholder expectations has failed to prise apart the differences between generic expectations of interpreters and those specific to a given context, even where this was the stated purpose of the study. It was therefore posited that it should be possible to capture data on this aspect of client expectations and relate it to client expectations in a given context. The methodology and results of the study carried out by Eraslan (2008, pp. 18–23) were given examples of how this could be done.

Chapter two therefore suggests that two different areas of stakeholder expectations should be defined. The first is their expectations regarding interpreting as an activity, independent of any given context. This was given the label “interpreting uncontextualised” and will be referred to in the model by the letter “U.” The second area of expectations covers views that are specific to a given context and describe behaviour that the clients wish to see at the specific event they are attending. These were called “Event-specific expectations” and will be

assigned the letter “E.” Eraslan’s work (2008, 2011) suggests that these two may be linked but contradictory.

Chapter three examined skopos theory and specifically the model put forward by Franz Pöchhacker (1995, 2007) to understand the relationship between the hypertext skopos of an entire conference, the expectations of clients and the strategies used by interpreters to carry out their work. In response to criticisms of the theory by Martín de León (2008) and Tymoczko (2007, pp. 36–37), it was accepted that the skopoi defined by a stakeholder may be internally contradictory. Similarly, the claim that the skopos of a Translation is directly relatable to the strategies used by a Translator was debated and it was deemed important to maintain the distinction between the aim of a text, defined by the source text author or speaker, the skopos defined by the commissioner and the function defined by the translator or interpreter. In this light, the hypertext skopos mentioned in Pöchhacker’s model (1995, pp. 35–36, 2007, p. 126) was taken to refer to the purpose defined by the individual stakeholder. The point of this study was therefore set as the exploration the relationship between how a particular stakeholder, be they a commissioner, a speaker or an audience member, defined the skopos and their expectations of interpreters.

Chapter three therefore allowed the definition of a further area of stakeholder expectations, the individual stakeholder’s own understanding and definition of the skopos of the interpreted event. This was called the “hypertext skopos” and will be referred to in the model by the letter “S.” The discussion of skopos theory in chapter 3 suggests that this category of expectation should be related to stakeholder’s own event-specific expectations. It may also be possible, given some of the results discussed in chapter 2 that expectations in this category (S) might have an effect on their views of interpreting uncontextualised (U).

Chapter four moved to the context of this study: church interpreting. Here it was argued that, while studies of church interpreting have covered different genres of text, the most commonly interpreted and the most theoretically challenging would seem to be sermons. In this regard, Cécile Vigouroux’s single performance hypothesis posits that such sermons are perceived and received as a single multilingual performance by stakeholders. If this hypothesis is true then a fourth area of expectations can be added to the three derived from the first two chapters. This area, “performative expectations of sermons” will be denoted by the letter “P”

and will be deemed to cover all the expectations that stakeholders express of the sermons, whether or not they are interpreted.

The relation of “P” to the other areas of expectation would seem to be defined in two related ways. Firstly, the single performance hypothesis would suggest that expectations of sermons should be linked to all expectations of interpreters, whether generic (U) or specific to a given context (E). The rationale for this is that, if interpreters are deemed to be co-producing the sermon alongside the preacher, they will be deemed as partners in this process and held accountable for their work in a very similar fashion to preachers. The term “co-preacher” used by a respondent in Karlik’s study (2010, p. 167) is therefore evocative both of partnership in communication and a sharing of the responsibility and expectations that come with the role.

The fourth chapter also discussed a framework for understanding sermons that has already been used in empirical work on sermons. In this framework, expectations are grouped under three main channels: *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos* (see section 4.2.1). It was argued that each set of expectations of preachers may be linked to a similar set of expectations of interpreters. It is also possible that these expectations may be reflective of the hypertext skopos assumed by a given stakeholder. Thus, those who hold *logos*-centred expectations of sermons may do so because their perception of the purpose of the event centres on obtaining new information or ideas. Initial evidence for this can be found in the empirical work on expectations of sermons described by Ronald J. Allen (2004, pp. 44–45) where he points out that many for listeners for whom *logos* expectations are dominant, hearing the sermon and learning from the ideas contained within it are deemed to be the key purpose of the church service. These three areas of expectation can therefore form the basis of a method for analysing qualitative data on the hypertext skopos, expectations of sermons and event-specific expectations of interpreters. They are less applicable to the analysis of normative expectations of interpreters since these tend to privilege the kinds of views found under the *logos* channel (see sections 2.2.3 and 2.3).

The hypotheses put forward in chapters two, three and four can therefore be represented as a single model for understanding stakeholder expectations, which is given below. The arrows between each section represent how each affects the other. Thus, the arrow from S to P represents the hypothesis that the hypertext skopos (S) will affect the performative expectations that any individual stakeholder has of sermons (P). The performative

expectations that people have of sermons (P) is hypothesised to affect stakeholders' generic (U) and event-specific (E) expectations of interpreters and so on.

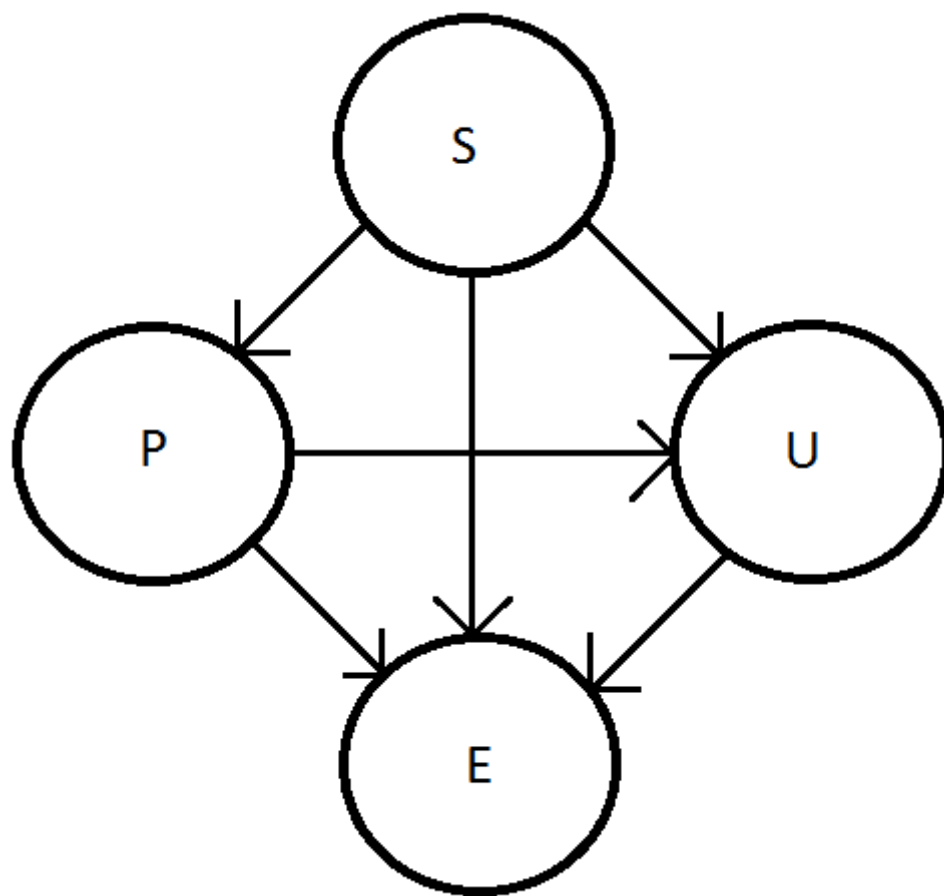


Figure 5. Graphic representation of the hypotheses generated in chapters two, three and four.

5.2 Validation requirements

Given the complexity of this model, two different forms of testing are required in order to validate it. Firstly, it must be shown that it is possible to capture stakeholders' views on each of these areas in turn. Since each of these categories cover a range of expectations, it is not possible to gain direct data on any of them. Taking the category of “interpreting uncontextualised” (U), for instance, stakeholders' views on this category will cover their opinions on the importance of using the correct terminology, whether interpreters should actively shape communication, whether they should aim to cover all the details of the original text or be free to summarise (cf. Eraslan, 2008, pp. 18–19) among others. Similarly, their performative expectations of sermons cover a wide range of verbal and non-verbal forms of

communication. The first task in validating this model then is to verify that the research instruments used, in this case surveys, interviews and participant observation, have succeeded in measuring each of the categories. The procedure for doing this will be covered in the next chapter.

Once the validity of the categories themselves has been verified, the second task is to verify that the relationships between these categories predicted in the model are actually reflected in the data. When analysing survey data, both of these tasks can be completed using the same statistical method. This method, Partial Least Squares Path Modelling, will be explained in the next chapter along with the reasons for choosing it. The interviews and participant observations, on the other hand, will allow a much more nuanced view of each category and their relationships than is possible within the confines of a survey. While surveys, by their very nature, tend towards the creation of a series of dichotomies (see chapter 6), interviews allow clients to explain their views in their own terms and using their own methods. A fuller account of the relationship between interviews, participant observations and surveys in this context of this study is found in the next chapter.

5.3 Conclusion

The model outlined in this chapter represents a first attempt at piecing together the underlying elements of stakeholder expectations and their interrelations. Building on previous work, it attempts to model stakeholder expectations in a way that allows the prediction of their relationships. Taking into account advances in empirical research and theoretical conceptualisation, it suggests that stakeholder expectations are multi-faceted and complex but yet able to be understood as the result of the interaction of different elements. Of course, not all aspects of client expectations will be predictable or even explicable within the confines of a single model. Nevertheless, by bringing together contextual, sociological and personal factors, this model presents a step forward in the theorisation and explanation of stakeholder expectations.

Chapter 6

Data and Methodology

Following on from the discussion of the model on which this thesis is based, this chapter will outline the particular combination of methods used in this study and how each contributes to answering the research question. Given that three different methods were used in this study, this chapter will concentrate on one at a time, exploring and justifying their use in this case. However, before any such discussion, there will be a brief justification of using a multi-method approach to answer the specific research question this thesis purports to answer. This section will explore the relevance of such an approach for this particular study and the particular research question in view as well as examining the issues involved in carrying out multi-method work in general. This will involve briefly revisiting of some of the recently raised research questions within stakeholder expectations research, discussed in chapter 2 and the epistemological points raised in the research on preaching and church interpreting examined in chapter 4.

6.1 The reason for using a multi-method approach

The reason for choosing a multi-method approach in this study is closely related to methodological and epistemological issues raised in the literatures on conference interpreting and preaching. In the case of the first literature, these issues are related to growing suspicions that the most widely used methodological tools available are severely limited and may even have presented a misleading picture of the constructs that researchers intended to probe. In the case of literature on preaching, it is the nature of the phenomenon itself that has led to the adoption of the multi-method approach, with scholars increasingly theorising preaching in ways that emphasise its essentially context-bound nature. These trends and their methodological outcomes for this thesis will now be examined, beginning with the limitations of current methods in stakeholder expectations of interpreters.

As explained in chapter 2, the history of work on stakeholder expectations of interpreters is dominated by the use of surveys. Much of this may be related to the ground-breaking work of Hildegund Bühler (1986), whose survey of selected members of AIIC had a formative effect

on later research on the expectations of any stakeholders. So formative did these items become in stakeholder expectations research that they became the *de facto* standard used when researchers wished to ensure comparability. The survey carried out by Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker therefore included a part that was “essentially a replication” (2010) of Bühler (1986). What is surprising is that these same items recur even in studies which set out explicitly to refine or reassess the methods used in stakeholder expectations research. Thus, in the work of Delia Chiaro and Giuseppe Nocella, where effort was made revise analytical methods and to generate survey items from interviews with interpreters, the end result was still the wholesale adoption of Bühler’s (1986) items (Chiaro and Nocella, 2004, pp. 283–284).

This last paper has specific significance for work in stakeholder expectations as it ignited fierce debate over the appropriateness of some of the methodological criticisms made by the authors. In his heated response, Pöchhacker (2005) argued that much of the methodological criticism found in Chiaro and Nocella (2004, pp. 279–282) was either misplaced or pedantic. The sub-title of Chiaro and Nocella’s response to this criticism “beholding the splinter and ignoring the beam” (2005) set the tone for their argument that emphasis should be placed on the wider methodological issues of research in this area rather than on any questions over the phrasing of their particular criticisms.

This debate brought into sharp focus a question that would crystallise in a book chapter by Barbara Moser-Mercer (2008): how can researchers design measurements of constructs as slippery and ephemeral as quality in interpreting? This question is pressing for stakeholder expectations research due to the two key assumptions behind work on stakeholder expectations. The first is that the criteria used in studies are the same as those used by the respondents in their evaluation of the service they will receive. This assumption is implicit in the link made in the vast majority of studies between understanding stakeholder expectations of interpreting and improving or at least describing the quality of interpreting produced (e.g. Kurz, 1989, 2001; Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995; Vuorikoski, 1998). While researchers measured stakeholder expectations, what they seemed to be interested in was using these expectations to create a profile of what high quality interpreting might look like in a given situation.

The supposed value of such work was related to the second, even more fundamental, assumption, which was that the items used in stakeholder expectations surveys had the same meaning for researchers and respondents. This assumption went unquestioned until the paper by Mack and Cattaruzza (1995) discussed in chapter 2, which suggested that much of the reason behind items receiving such similar ratings by clients was that clients were not used to using such terminology to describe interpreting. As chapter 2 also showed, the work of Diriker further problematised the items used in surveys with the wide variety of definitions used by her respondents to describe “fidelity to the meaning of the original speech” (2004, pp. 131–147).

Since there are now real doubts over whether there is any empirical basis for either assumption, any approach that attempts to measure or explain stakeholder expectations needs to build in processes for verifying the reliability of any items used in surveys and providing space for respondents to describe interpreting in their own words. This is why, in this thesis, I have decided to combine statistical analysis of a survey with semi-structured interviews.

This particular combination of methods allows a much more nuanced account of stakeholder expectations than is possible with descriptive accounts of survey data, as found in much of the work in stakeholder expectations (see chapter 2). What they do not necessarily offer, however, is an account of how expectations of interpreters are enacted and negotiated during the event itself. Such a perspective is vital to research on church interpreting given that, as chapter 4 discussed, recent scholarship on sermons, the most prominent source text in church interpreting, has emphasised its performativity and the importance of the co-presence of the preacher and audience. Understanding the nature of the event in which interpreting takes place is also at the core of Pöchhacker’s *skopos*-based model of interpreted events (Pöchhacker, 1995, 2007), discussed in chapter 3. In short, while surveys and interviews allow a snapshot of how respondents describe and explain their expectations at a given moment, there is still a need for a method that is able to describe the event itself and the expectations that become evident during it.

The method I have chosen for that purpose is participant observation – attending the events concerned and actively seeking out indicators of stakeholder expectations. Given the limited amount of time for which I was on site (see section 6.4.1), these observations are necessarily limited and centred on the interpreted events themselves. Yet, the very fact of being

“immersed” (cf. *ibid.*, 432) in the environment, even if only for short periods of time, allowed the collection of data on themes that would not be immediately accessible from either surveys or interviews. As the next chapter will explore, much of these data were contextual in nature, relating to the overall attitude of the organisations to interpreting as presented at and around the events or to the performance of the source texts. As chapter 8 will argue, such data does much more than providing a background for the data elicited in the survey and interviews. Instead, this contextual and situational data often offers explanations for patterns in the other datasets that are not adequately explained by existing theory.

Given the short, though intense, nature of these observations, I make no claim that they amount to ethnography – or even a “micro-ethnography” (a term from Bryman, 2012, p. 433). What they do provide, however, is the possibility to cross-check the findings from one method with those generated by another. This opportunity to cross-validate findings proved to be of importance in this thesis (see sections 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5).

A multi-method approach to this research question therefore allows a greater range of expectations to be discovered than is possible with a single approach, as well as providing tools for the theorisation of these expectations. Such an approach also mirrors Pöchhacker’s (2011, p. 22) assertion that the complexity of interpreting as a phenomenon means that mixed-method research designs, along with the mixing of epistemological standpoints that this may suggest, can be read as the “policy of choice.” Each of these three methods performs a specific role in answering the question. The survey acts as an initial snapshot of a wide range of stakeholders and provides indicators of the likely relationship between the variables in the model. It also offers an opportunity to re-evaluate some of the survey items currently used in the field. The semi-structured interviews provide a smaller number of stakeholders with the opportunity to use their own terms to describe their expectations of interpreting while offering the researcher the chance to probe the reasons behind these and how respondents perceive different approaches to interpreting. The participant observations meanwhile allow the data from the surveys and interviews to be contextualised and related to the particular aspects of the specific organisations under study.

Such a combination of methods is by no means an uncontroversial way of carrying out research. Sale et al (2002, pp. 46–47) have argued that quantitative methods (represented in this present thesis by the survey) and qualitative methods (represented here by the interviews

and participant observations) are incompatible given their different epistemological roots. They view quantitative work as being grounded in the philosophy of positivism, which sees reality as being independent of human perception, allowing researchers to investigate phenomena without influencing them or being influenced by them (*ibid*, p. 44). Qualitative research, they view as being influenced by interpretivism, which sees reality as being a function of perception, in such a way that both the investigator and the object of study are created and shaped by the process of research (*ibid*, p. 45). This difference in epistemological foundation leads them to conclude that the only way that methods from the two paradigms can be combined is if this combination is done to provide different but complimentary views of closely related phenomena (*ibid*, pp. 50-51). Thus, their conclusion is that while the two paradigms cannot be used to study the same phenomenon and their results are not comparable, they can be used alongside one another to provide different perspectives on similar phenomena.

Sale et al therefore view the two paradigms as mutually irreconcilable, a position criticised by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, who argue this view ignores the practical realities of how they are used in research projects (2004, pp. 14–16). Thus, they argue that positivists now accept that their work includes elements of subjectivism in the creation, selection and application of categories to their data and most interpretivists have agreed that a wholly relativistic view of research, where all points of view are equally valid, is logically self-refuting (*ibid*, p. 16). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie do not conclude, however, that the two paradigms are entirely identical. Instead, they view the paradigms as representing ends of a scale, with stereotypical positivism, with its emphasis on the objective use of methods to provide falsification or confirmation of pre-existing hypotheses on one side and stereotypical interpretivism, with its denial of objective reality, on the other (*ibid*, pp. 15, 18). They argue that anything in-between these two positions would be an instance of “pragmatism” (*ibid*, p. 15). Pragmatism, for them, is a practical epistemology which states that the research methods used in a given study should be those that offer the greatest likelihood of being able to answer the research questions and produce “useful answers” (*ibid*, pp. 17-18).

The pragmatic perspective would therefore seem to separate methods from the paradigms to which they are normally assigned. Rather than becoming an instantiation of a certain philosophy of knowledge (as they are viewed in Sale, Lohfield and Brazil, 2002), methods in the pragmatic perspective become flexible tools for discovering new ways of solving real-

world problems and generating theories that will inform later practice (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 18). At the heart of this approach is the view that attempting to define paradigms in terms of their stereotypical cases is unwarranted and leads to the delineation of arbitrary boundaries. Thus, Morgan points to the growth in the number of paradigms named by researchers in later editions of the same methodology book from 2 to 5 as illustrating the difficult and political nature of naming and defining different paradigms (2007, pp. 60–61). Assigning methods to paradigms and defining the paradigms themselves are therefore subjective exercises, carried out for the purposes of privileging or demoting a particular worldview (*ibid*, p. 64). In accepting that such power plays are always going on across all paradigms, pragmatism places the focus on how researchers come to agree that a given research question is worthy of investigation and how the researcher's personal values and social context interact with their methodological decisions (*ibid*, p. 69-70).

This parallels the recommendation of the use of multi-method approaches by Hale and Napier (2013, pp. 210–211) who view such approaches as helpful means to examine the wide range of variables and relationships present in any given case of interpreting. This view sees multi-method research as a reflection of the inherent complexity of interpreting, especially interpreting in authentic settings.

At the centre of all of research paradigms and approaches explored above is the role of the researcher. In positivism, or at least stereotypical positivism, the researcher is viewed as being separate from the object of study. In interpretivism, the researcher and the object of study are intertwined and interact throughout the study. Pragmatism takes an agnostic position (Morgan, 2007, p. 68), accepting that the social world in which researchers live will affect the topics that are deemed worthy of study while preferring to emphasise the practical outcomes different epistemologies above taking a permanent position on which is to be preferred.

In the case of this present thesis, the research question itself would seem to be a useful guide as to the position that will be most helpful in this enquiry. While the question concentrates on stakeholder expectations, which have traditionally been sampled and analysed using the tools of quantitative research, such expectations will be necessarily subjective, given that they are the wishes, requirements and views of individuals. In addition, while the question ostensibly links two distinct variables, the hypertext skopos of an event and the expectations of

stakeholders, and thus seems to suggest that both exist independently of the researcher, I have attempted to show in the preceding chapters that defining these terms involves making motivated decisions as to what constitutes relevant data and what does not. The research question therefore entails the mixing of presuppositions from both positivistic and interpretivistic research and the use of multiple methods. In this context, pragmatism, with its flexible approach towards methods and its emphasis on the primacy of the research question and the production of useful knowledge would seem to be the most helpful philosophical stance to take in this case.

Inherent in this approach is the need to discuss why a certain combination of methods is helpful for a given research question. The next three sections will therefore provide a closer examination of each of the three methods in turn. For each method, information will be given on data gathering, including sampling and text sizes before a presentation of the details of the analytical techniques used on each data set. In all cases, these techniques will be related back to the aims of the study and the research question.

6.2 Surveys

6.2.1 Data gathering

The final versions of the survey used in Germany in CLW represent the final iteration of a year-long process of designing, testing and translating. An initial version of the survey was piloted in IEN at a youth conference in the UK. Shortly after this, the same version was used at the Europe and Eurasia conference of the same organisation, the conference at which the interviews of members of this church were carried out and where I generated the first set of field notes. At the youth conference, 22 responses were gathered and 10 were gathered at the Europe and Eurasia conference. As there was some crossover in the respondents to these surveys, the two samples could not be combined. This meant that the sample size was too small for anything more than superficial analysis.

Initial analysis of these responses using Partial Least Squares Path Modelling and an earlier version of the model (see section 6.2.2) showed a high number of items that needed to be replaced. These early pilots did not include items on performative expectations of the source texts and included items on the hypertext skopos that were later found to be irrelevant. Items

on the expectations of source texts and the perceived skopos of church services were therefore created on the basis of the work of Allen (2004) and were piloted in a monolingual church in the United Kingdom on a sample of 41. Monolingual piloting was possible given that interpreting is not mentioned in either of these categories. Given that only items for these two latent variables were tested, a much simpler version of the model presented in chapter 5 was used, with only hypertext skopos and performative expectations of the source text appearing.

As only two items passed the pilot stage in IEN for the latent variable of Interpreting Uncontextualised and three for Event-specific Expectations, items were added from the work of Eraslan (2008, 2011). Their successful use in that context was deemed at the time to be equivalent to a piloting stage, especially given that only 8 days were available on site in Germany and only two slots – one each at the conference and the church – were agreed to be set aside for the survey. As section 8.2 of the next chapter will show, this decision to add items taking previous studies as equivalent to a pilot, while usually not recommended given the weaknesses of some survey work in Interpreting Studies, did not have great consequences in this case, with items directly imported from Eraslan's work out-performing those that had been piloted, even those that had been used frequently in previous work.

The final survey was entirely paper-based and was given out by members of CLW at the Times of Refreshing conference and at the church service to those who were happy to take part. In all, 64 responses were returned, with 25 surveys including empty or incorrectly filled responses. The largest source of such responses was item 19, where respondents were asked to fill in one response and 11 respondents filled in two responses or all three. As almost all of the problematic responses were cases of double or unclear responses rather than null responses, these responses were automatically replaced with the item mean using the item replacement algorithm bundled with SmartPLS (Ringle, Wende and Will, 2005).

The 64 respondents included audience members at both events, leaders of CLW and interpreters. With the audience groups subdivided according to the event they attended, this created four subgroups within the sample. The differences between these groups were tested statistically in accordance with the methods detailed in the next subsection. No significant differences were found between them for the items that remained after modelling using Partial Least Squares Path Modelling, see appendix B.2.

The surveys contained 19 items, 18 of which took the form of 5 point Likert scales, with possible responses ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree”, with a midpoint of “neither agree nor disagree”. Item 19 was a three option, multiple-choice item. Given the research question, the perceived need to ensure that the survey would fit comfortably on two pages of A4 to optimise response rates and the lack of evidence in the literature on the relationship of biographical data and stakeholder expectations, no biographical details were gathered. This may represent an oversight that future researchers will wish to correct.

Feedback on earlier versions of the survey used in IEN had shown that negatively worded items were more difficult to process. Feedback in the monolingual church had also shown that respondents felt that the use of twin items on the same theme to verify responses were noticeable and off-putting, even when one item was worded positively and one negatively. In the final survey, only two negatively worded items were used, in both cases, these represented items that passed prior statistical testing. Neither of these items passed statistical testing for the final survey.

The final survey was also translated from English into German, Spanish, French and Russian by professional translators. Minor issues, mostly regarding the terminology specific to the evangelical Christianity were found by some respondents. There were statistically significant differences between the responses given by the different language groups for five of the items that remained after statistical testing using PLSPM. These are detailed in appendix 2.

While producing versions of the surveys in different languages increased the potential pool of respondents, it also came with its own drawbacks. The limits of my own linguistic knowledge meant that I could only personally check the English and French versions. For all other versions, I either relied on either the quality assurance procedures of a translation agency and their ability to closely follow the project brief or, for German, on the kind assistance of colleagues. Given the timescale available for the final visit, I was not able to pilot the translated versions of the survey within the church itself. This turned out to be a source of weakness: terminological issues and well as issues of clarity were found in the German version, and may have been found in the other versions too. This may explain the statistically significant differences between the language groups.

For those looking to do multilingual surveys in the future, this would suggest that the languages in which surveys are made available will need to exactly match the language capabilities of the project team. It now appears inadvisable to make any assumptions as to the ability of any third-parties to understand what is required for a translated survey and perfectly follow the demands of the project. In this case of this present PhD, while there were therefore clear issues with the survey, some of the resulting problems may have been mitigated by the deliberate choice to triangulate results.

6.2.2 Survey data analysis

Having outlined the process by which survey data was gathered, this section will now move on to a brief description of its analysis. As the entire analysis of survey data is built around statistical modelling, rather than the more traditional descriptive treatments of survey responses (as found in papers like Kurz, 1989; Gile, 1990; Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995; Eraslan, 2008), it is necessary to first discuss why this approach was favoured.

There are three reasons for using statistical modelling in this study. The first, and most pressing, is the need to evaluate the reliability of the survey items used, especially given the issues raised with respect to the assumptions behind traditional surveys in section 6.1. Thus, it was deemed important that the researcher could be sure that individual survey items were adequately and consistently describing components of stakeholder expectations. While there are a variety of methods available to perform such reliability checks, I preferred to adopt methods that were suited to the small sample sizes typical of stakeholder expectations surveys and which offered a seamless process between evaluating the reliability of individual survey items and assessing their relationships to one another.

The second reason for adopting statistical modelling in this case is that the kind of descriptions of raw results found in previous work tended to reveal clusters of items with similar scores (Gile, 1990 is a particularly clear case). While this may have been due to the terminological issues discussed in section 6.1, it also seemed to be indicative of there being clusters of items that were linked in the minds of respondents. Statistical modelling and particularly structural equation modelling allows for such relationships to be tested empirically (Vinzi, Trinchera and Amato, 2010).

The third reason for using statistical modelling here is that the research question focusses on the relationship between two variables, hypertext skopos and stakeholder expectations, rather than on their absolute values. In other words, this research project is not about what people expect of interpreters but instead the extent to which their expectations are affected by their views of the purpose of the event. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to answer this question using the approaches employed in previous literature, especially since such literature tended to concentrate on the expectations themselves rather than their relationship to any other variable. Even in studies that purported to explore the relationships between variables (e.g. Kurz, 1993; Moser, 1995b), such relationships were described in terms of similarities in median or mean responses and were not subject to statistical testing.

Statistical modelling, in contrast, provides a means of describing the precise statistical relationship between latent variables. These are the constructs that the researcher wishes to study but cannot be measured directly (Tenenhaus *et al.*, 2005, pp. 161–162). An example of a latent variable from this study is the Hypertext Skopos of an event, which cannot be measured as a single survey item. Instead, it is measured by three separate items. These items are therefore called “manifest variables”. Similarly, performative expectations of source texts are a latent variable, measured by five survey items. A table below gives each latent variable and the survey items that were used to measure them. The order of items one to eighteen was generated using the random number generator built in to Microsoft Excel 2007.

Latent Variable

Hypertext skopos

Manifest Variables (survey items)

Q13. I come to church primarily to be connected with people.

Q15. The best Sunday services are those when I feel I have been touched by God.

Q18. I come to church primarily to feel connected with God

Performative Expectations of Source Texts

- Q1. Sermons should challenge your behaviour more than your thinking.
- *Q5. Sermons should challenge your thinking more than your behaviour.
- Q6. Sermons that touch my emotions have more impact on me than those that make me reflect intellectually.
- Q11. Sermons seem most compelling to me when I am moved emotionally.
- *Q14. Sermons should take a detached, academic approach to the Bible.

Interpreting Uncontextualised

- Q2. The interpreter should render every detail of what is said
- *Q4. The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences
- *Q9. The interpreter should give the gist of what is said
- Q12. The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible
- Q17. The interpreter should remain entirely objective while they are interpreting

Event-specific expectations

- Q3. The interpreter should add their own explanations to clear up potential misunderstandings
- Q7. The interpreter should agree with the purpose of the church service.
- Q8. The interpreter should be a mature Christian
- Q16. No one outside of CLW should interpret

in CLW church services.

Q19. If the preacher mentions something specific to German culture, the interpreter should (please tick one):

Simply repeat what was said

Find a close equivalent in an English-speaking culture

Give an explanation

Table 1: Survey items mapped to latent variables.

Answers to each of these questions were then turned into numeric form, with 1 used for “strongly disagree”, 5 used for “strongly agree” and the other answers scored accordingly. For asterisked items, this order was reversed to keep a consistent scale for all the items for each latent variable. In the case of item 19, the first answer was marked as 1, the second as 2 and the third as 3.

This process allowed the testing of both the reliability of the survey items and the relationship between the latent variables. The reliability of the survey items was tested by examining how well they correlate with the latent variable they are supposed to measure using Partial Least Squares Path Modelling (PLSPM) in SmartPLS (Ringle, Wende and Will, 2005). PLSPM is one of a number of algorithms available to perform the kinds of statistical analysis required in this thesis. It was chosen in this case given that existing literature has shown it to perform better than the mainline alternatives for both small sample sizes (Henseler *et al.*, 2014, pp. 7–8) and for models that intend to be predictive of future results (Evermann and Tate, 2014). Hence, given that small samples sizes are very common in Interpreting Studies and especially in contextualised stakeholder expectation studies (see chapter 2), and that the model is based on predictive hypotheses (see chapter 5), PLSPM is the natural choice in this case.

In PLSPM, the reliability of a given survey item is found by calculating its linear correlation with the latent variable it is meant to describe: the nearer the correlation is to 1, the more the

better the item is said to describe or reflect that particular latent variable hence the more reliable it is said to be. If it is close to or below 0, it is said to be unreliable. The minimum acceptable value for new models using PLSPM is a correlation between a manifest variable and the latent variable it is meant to describe is 0.5 (Abd-El-Fattah, 2010, p. 591). Items with correlations below this level are dropped from the final analysis to increase the explanatory power of the model (Hulland, 1999, p. 198). This means that running a PLSPM analysis is an iterative process of running the model, removing unreliable items and then recalculating with the new, smaller model until such a point that only reliable items are left.

Once this process is complete, the correlations between the latent variables – called “inter-factor correlation coefficients” – become the focus of analysis. These correlations provide an estimate of the strength of the relationship between two latent variables (Abd-El-Fattah, 2010, pp. 591–592). In this case, these variables represent the categories of expectation uncovered in the literature. Correlations between these variables of close to 1 or -1 indicate a strong effect; values close to 0 indicate a weak effect. These values therefore provide a clear, if initial answer to the research question. These correlations apply to data from across the entire sample and do not predict the nature of these relationships for a given individual. The surveys therefore produce an overall picture of how the factors correlate, restricted to the items that were found to be reliable. There is therefore a need to examine how well the model describes the expectations of any given individual, especially when such expectations are not restricted to a list of pre-determined items. The next section will therefore discuss the place of interviews in fulfilling this need.

6.3 Interviews

6.3.1 Data gathering and interview characteristics

As mentioned in section 6.1, the purpose of using interviews was to allow respondents the opportunity to use their own words to describe their expectations of interpreters, their performative expectations of the source texts and their view of the hypertext skopos. I therefore decided to use semi-structured interviews, built around questions on the topics of interest and scenarios that may be encountered in church interpreting. As can be seen in Appendix D, each interview began with some general questions about why people attended the event in questions and their expectation of the event as a whole, before going on to more specific questions. The interviews in IEN then covered general expectations of interpreters

before going onto event-specific expectations, which were explored using scenarios. In CLW, questions were inserted before these two sections on expectations of sermons. This was due to the growth in the importance accorded to this category of expectations due to changes in the way I handled Pöchhacker's (1995) framework and the theories and empirical data from the New Homiletics.

In addition, early analysis of the responses to one of the scenarios used in IEN led to its replacement in the CLW interviews. This scenario, which asked respondents what interpreters should do if French people were referred to as "frogs" by a preacher, led to a set of almost identical responses and justifications from respondents and so was deemed to have too little discriminatory power for future use. It was replaced by a scenario on preachers making serious theological errors.

The IEN interviews also differ from the CLW interviews in that the former were carried out exclusively in French, my working language (AIIC B), while the latter were carried out in English, my native language (AIIC A). This undoubtedly led to differences in fluency between the two sets of interviews and in the frequency and quality of follow-up questions.

In both sets of interviews, the aim was to cover a range of stakeholders, including speakers/leaders, audience members and interpreters themselves. The reason for speakers and leaders being treated as a single category is that in both organisations, the roles tended to go together. In the case of IEN, the speakers interviewed were also leaders of a local church in France. While they did not speak at the IEN conference at which they were interviewed, they both spoke at the conference where the first version of the survey was piloted and both regularly speak at IEN events. In CLW, two of the leaders interviewed both spoke at the conference and regularly speak at church services. The interpreter interviewed in CLW also held a leadership capacity in the church at the same time.

Eleven interviews were carried out in total but a file corruption led to one being excluded from the final dataset. Of the ten interviews remaining, four were carried out at or shortly before the IEN conference. The two pre-conference interviews involved interpreters. These interviews were initially intended as pilots but are included in the final dataset. There were two reasons for including these interviews. The first was that it proved surprisingly difficult to find times when potential interviewees were both available and happy to be interviewed

(see p. 108). This led to there being a small number of available interviews, especially in IEN. In addition, since the pilot interviews were unique as the only data directly elicited from interpreters in IEN, and yet shared marked commonalities with the interviews with the other IEN stakeholders, they were judged to be of sufficient importance in their own right to merit inclusion. Two interviews were carried out during the conference. One of these respondents was a speaker/leader, the other was an audience member.

During these interviews, I was confronted with a feeling of discomfort since, in almost all cases, I was interviewing people with whom I had had previous friendly relationships. As a former member of IEN and as someone who had spent nine months in an IEN church in France, it was evident that my position could not be one of detachment. This was especially the case when I asked questions about matters such as what people expected of the conference and instances where interpreting did not work so well. In such cases, respondents sometimes appeared confused, either because as an ex-member, I would be expected to know these things or because interpreting and the purpose of the conference are not typical topics of conversation. Similar confusion seemed to arise when I asked for definitions of terms that would be well-known and generally understood in IEN but might be opaque to outsiders.

It is therefore likely that, at least in IEN, my presence may have affected responses to interview questions. While my status in IEN could conceivably have allowed people to be more frank with their responses, it is also possible that responses were formed according to what the respondent felt I wanted to hear. In both organisations, it is possible that interviewees wished to present themselves and their organisation in as positive a light as possible. Still, the fact that respondents in CLW were happy to recount incidents where interpreting did not go well (see section 7.4.4) and the directness with which some interviewees responded to questions about the role of the interpreter (see section 7.3.4) indicate that there was openness to at least some level of negative expression. For this reason, I have attempted to concentrate analysis on commonalities within each organisation as far as possible and have attempted to triangulate methods to verify whether the expectations evident in the interviews align with those of the other methods.

Of the six interviews carried out in CLW, one was carried out a few days before a church service, with the sole CLW interpreter respondent. A further informal follow-up interview was carried out with this respondent the next day to clarify some matters. Three interviews

were carried out at the Times of Refreshing conference, all with audience members. The two leaders were interviewed shortly after a church service.

Here, there was noticeably less discomfort than in IEN as although I was though recognised as a fellow Christian, I was not a member of the church and had not attended there for around ten years. Thus respondents at both the conference and church services seemed happy both to use Christian terminology and to attempt to define it. In most cases, as the interviews wore on, the use of specifically Christian terminology seemed to decrease and respondents tended to become more informal in their answers. This may indicate growing comfort with the course of the interview and the interviewer.

In all cases, the timing and length of the interviews was a matter that required considerable compromise. Most notable was the compromise that had to be made between physical presence at an event, which was my preference, and the interview timing preferred by the respondents. A second compromise had to be made with respect to interview length, especially as regards interviews carried out during conferences, which needed to fit around the conference timetable and the other commitments and interests of specific respondents. This usually led to interviews being carried out during short breaks or between sessions. This is the main factor behind the short nature of some of the interviews, as shown in the table in appendix C.

Ensuring data quality in the interviews therefore involved being intentional both about the people interviewed and the questions asked. Throughout the process, questions were reviewed to see whether they were producing a variety of answers and thus were not trivial but were providing answers that were relevant to the research question. When possible, follow-up questions were used to verify answers and provide more detail as to their application to the specific event. I was also strategic in who I interviewed, looking for as wide a range of respondents as possible within the timeframe and, with the interpreter and leader groups, targeting people who had as much experience with interpreting as possible.

All of the interviews were transcribed with the ending of the very first interview being redacted as this contained feedback on the quality of the French I used in the interviews and was deemed irrelevant to the thesis. While pauses were noted, no particular convention was used to denote longer or shorter pauses as this was deemed marginal to the research question.

Interruptions were noted however, as these may have led to changes in response. Where a word or phrase in French was unclear, this was referred to a native speaker, while still maintaining confidentiality. The same process was not necessary in English. All the French interviews were videoed while all the interviews in English were recorded as audio only. This was due to a feeling that the visual channel was not adding significant value to warrant the difficulties of finding a suitable space to set up a camera.

6.4 Participant observation

Participant observations were made at three events: the Europe and Eurasia Conference of IEN (the IEN conference), the Times of Refreshing conference hosted by a leader from CLW at an external venue with a mostly non-CLW audience (the CLW conference), and three regular CLW church services (the church services). The IEN conference lasted four days and the CLW conference lasted three, of which I attended two. In addition, I attended and presented at an interpreters' meeting in CLW. This totals ten days of direct observations. I also made notes of the research process and theoretical reflections on the data at other points of my stay in Germany, as well as initial notes of the two interviews carried out before the IEN conference, the first meeting with two leaders of CLW and an interview carried out with an interpreter a few days before a church service. Together this gives 14 days on which I made some kind of observation with some days' notes being split into several parts. In total, the field notes comprise 28,482 words over 23 separate files.

Of the three data collection methods, participant observations were the method that changed most over time and that was most affected by the context in which they took place. Initially, the aim of this method was simply to provide useful information about the physical context of the event, such as the position of the interpreters, the size and shape of the rooms involved and any other physical issues that could affect or reflect expectations of interpreters. Within a few hours of arriving at the IEN conference, however, it became clear that participant observation had far greater potential. As the conference timetable in this case afforded little room for interviews, the notes allowed access to the views of those who could not be interviewed. Foremost among these were speakers at the conference, who often had limited interaction with the wider audience. Their public utterances, therefore, became the primary source of their expectations of interpreters, especially in those rare instances when

interpreting was directly mentioned. In addition, the presentation style of the sermons at the IEN conference, with its heavy reliance on embodiment and ethos, became an important source of expectations and performance of the source texts. The presentational choices made in IEN could easily fill an entire thesis alone but their importance here was deemed to be the insights they gave into the role accorded to sermons in IEN.

All of this represents a deliberate decision, at that stage in the research process, to take a broad view of the use of the participant observations. This decision was also taken given my own personal history with IEN, having attended a church that was part of IEN for most of my teenage years and much of my twenties. I was already familiar with the unwritten rules of the organisation and was fully comfortable with its jargon, traditions and approaches to matters such as fundraising, evangelism and hierarchy. It could be argued that this perspective restricted or coloured my view. Indeed, this feeling of being too familiar with IEN, or at least of needing to wrestle with the issues involved in doing field work in an organisation I had personal history with, is a common theme in the notes. On the one hand, I felt and continue to feel that this familiarity acted as a screening device, allowing me to gather broad data related to the research question without being overly distracted by the organisational norms. However, it is also likely that it is these precise organisational norms that lie behind some of the expectations I discovered in IEN. My position as someone who had learned how to process and adhere to these at a much earlier stage may have occluded them from me and meant that I missed data that were useful in answering the research question.

With this in mind, the decision to deliberately gather a wide range of observational data at this early stage in the research process functioned as a safeguard against missing too much of the organisational data due to my familiarity. At various points in the notes, I take the time to explain the organisational interpretations of different organisational phenomena. This information proved to be unnecessary for answering the research question so does not figure in the data analysis.

Consciousness that I may have cast the net too wide in IEN led to a modification in the strategy used in CLW. In this case, I made the decision to record only those contextual details that seemed relevant to the research question, while still attempting to note down instances where interpreting was referred to by the speakers. In the case of the Times of Refreshing Conference, this involved noting much of the same detail as was noted in the IEN conference.

Since the interpreters were on-stage with the preachers throughout this conference, almost all aspects of the running of the conference and the delivery of sermons revealed the expectations that the organisers, preachers and in some cases, even the audience had of interpreters.

The use of simultaneous interpreting in the church services and my own lack of ability in German restricted the observations I could make during the church services. Here, there was a tendency for me to drop into the role of a receiver of interpreting, albeit one with awareness of the techniques used. Noting any remarks made by preachers necessarily involved reflecting on their transmission by interpreters. This difficulty in using preacher remarks may have been balanced out by the greater contextual awareness that came from being in a new situation in a country where I did not speak the language.

As someone who was familiar with CLW but not a regular attender, I felt that I was less likely to need to deal with exactly the same familiarity as I had faced in IEN. Yet, in the case of the CLW conference, I became aware that there were enough similarities between the two organisations for me to feel comfortably, perhaps too comfortably, at home. It is therefore not tenable to see my field notes as the result of passive, impartial observation of either organisation. They represent instead the perspective of someone who was already committed to the causes and ideologies espoused by both organisations, with all the merits and challenges this involves.

Yet this personal commitment does not mean that my role as a researcher was reduced. On the contrary, as both a researcher and an addressee (see Mason, 2000, p. 4) of the communication, I had a binocular perspective. This binocular perspective is represented in my choice, made first in the IEN conference and maintained throughout, to use two notepads, one for field notes and one for my own personal notes on the sermons. In this way, I attempted to reconcile my position as a researcher with my position as a fellow Christian to those in the sites, in short, a participant.

The interplay between these two positions could easily make for a thesis in itself but its relevance here tied to the fact that, as I was observing and probing stakeholder expectations of church interpreters, I was incontrovertibly a stakeholder myself. Yet, as someone with professional training in interpreting and whose overt role was to be on the sites to do

research, I was also an outsider. The data generated through my observations and my analysis of all the qualitative data are therefore products of this position – a double vision which is summed up metaphorically in my use of two notepads at the same time and in methodologically in my ready adoption of the label of participant observer.

The physical act of separating out the two notepads helped to remind me that, while the two positions were compatible, they involved different approaches to the field. The presence of the research notebook reminded me to question and analyse some of the behaviours and talk that I would ordinarily have taken for granted. A sentence written down in my personal notebook as a principle to be applied or studied could be written in my research notebook as an instance of performativity or interaction between the preacher and interpreter. The effect of this was that I was continually interrupted in places where I would normally allow myself to be completely involved in the event. The presence of the research notebook reminded me that I could not be a complete participant; the presence of the personal notebook reminded me that I could not claim objectivity. In performative terms, what I felt was a kind of “alienation effect ... which allows one to recognize its subject, but at the same time makes it seem unfamiliar.” (Brecht, 1948, p. 192) This alienation allowed me to take a critical glance at how interpreting was used during the events precisely by reminding me to take a step back from them and disturbing my comfort with reminders that I was there as a researcher more than as a participant.

This double position also created a need to be aware of the quality of the data collected. In a similar fashion to the interviews, ensuring the quality of data of the observation notes involved ongoing reflections as to the nature of the data collected and its relation to the research question. As mentioned above, this included adjusting the breadth of data I collected. It also involved making and testing initial hypotheses during the events. The potential answers to these hypotheses, which mostly concentrated on the relation of what I was observing to the theory I had been exposed to before entering the field, helped to hone my data collection and they showed where I had insufficient data on an area or where the data collected was adding little value to the study.

In all cases, the field notes were later transcribed into print copies. Given that the original notes were mostly in the form of complete sentences or paragraphs, few additions were introduced at this stage. Where additions or expansions were made, these tend to be marked

as such. Attempts were made to complete this process as soon as possible after each day of the events but in many cases this was not possible. For this reason, transcribed notes give the date on which the events took place and the date on which the notes were written up. No analysis of the effect of the length of time between the two processes was undertaken.

6.5 Method development

The design of this study therefore demonstrates considerable responsiveness as regards the tools used to gather data and the data that were finally included in the study. Much of this was due to a desire to be reflexive and self-critical regarding the tools and methods used, given the problems associated with fixed methods in prior stakeholder expectations research. Thus, when it seemed clear that certain interview questions were running into much the same repetition issues as found in much of the survey work in stakeholder expectations research, I had no hesitation in looking for ways to overcome this. More fundamentally, as the early data interacted with provisional theorising, it became clear that the model that had been constructed was not fit for purpose and needed to be reconstructed. This involved moving from a three part model, which contained items on the interpreter's relation to the *skopos* of the event, on performative expectations of interpreter and on normative expectations of interpreters, to the four part model mentioned in chapter 5. The most important implication of this was that much more attention was given to the context in which interpreting took place and on how stakeholders understood this.

In short, the flexibility in the specific methodological tools used reflected learning that took place during the study. In concrete terms, this involved adjusting survey items and interview questions, gaining experience of how to manage interviews in limited time slots and learning how to adjust to late changes in event timings. A perfect example of this was the CLW conference, for which I did not know the precise agenda until I arrived at the site. In a more hermeneutical sense, such flexibility in method use reflected a growing sense that understanding stakeholder expectations had to involve much more than offering a list of pre-determined criteria for respondents to evaluate. Within data from respondents, stories, statements of *ad hoc* heuristics, and responses to interpreter behaviour all offered insights into the approaches, behaviours and character traits that stakeholder expected from interpreters, expectations that often bore little relation to those often discussed within

Interpreting Studies. While adjustments in the tools used and how they were used may well reflect initial weaknesses, the opportunities and insights afforded both by the process of making such adjustments and the results generated once they were made proved to be of real value in the study.

6.6 Data analysis of interviews and field notes

Given that a potential theoretical model had already been developed for the surveys, the choice was made to use thematic coding to analyse the interview and participant observation data, using this model as a starting point. In theoretical thematic coding, researchers look for occurrences of theoretically derived topics (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 90) rather than deriving such topics from iterative analysis of the data. In both the interviews and the participant observations, the aim was not simply to discover occurrences of each theoretical theme but to discover any indicators as to how they were related.

As the data were coded, it became evident that the precise categories used in the survey model needed to be reviewed for use in analysis of qualitative data. The first stage in this was to sub-divide three categories: hypertext skopos, expectations of source texts and event-specific expectations of interpreters according to the rhetorical distinctions found in Allen (2004). An additional category was also added to cover the purpose of the organisation.

Analysis of the data coded as expectations of interpreters showed that codes were needed for the working methods of interpreters, including spatial position and equipment and for data on actual interpreter performance. It was also found that Allen's distinctions did not seem to map easily onto available data on expectations of interpreters. Codes were therefore regenerated to cover such expectations.

These codes on expectations of interpreters therefore led to a distinction being made between normative expectations (broadly those mentioned in Eraslan (2008) as constituting the "normative role") and performative expectations, which tended to correspond more closely to the pathos and ethos settings discussed in Allen (2004, pp. 2–4). Additional codes were created to cover three emerging categories. The first of these is partnership, which covered behaviours explicitly labelled such by respondents or framed as such by participants.

Expectations of such behaviour and praise of such behaviour were coded separately from actual instances of it.

The second code added under expectations of interpreters was any mention of interpreters needing to have preaching experience. This was a rare code but was added, alongside the third new code – expectations around mistake correction – given their specific elicitation in the interviews. Again, expectations of mistake correction were coded separately from instances of it.

Allen's "pathos" setting (2004, pp. 2–5) was recoded as "impact" given the frequent use of the latter term by English-speaking respondents and its slightly wider reach, extending to actual changes in audience behaviour resulting from the interpreting. A further top-level code was added to cover reflections on the research process and results. These codes are only ever present in the field notes. A full code book can be found in Appendix E.

Once the data was coded, side-by-side comparison was used on the interview data to try to visualise the relationship between variables. Thus, data coded as hypertext skopos for each respondent were tabulated alongside their expectations to allow possible patterns to be revealed. A similar process was used for expectations of source texts, where data on these were available, and expectations of interpreters. Lastly, the same process was used to attempt to map declared hypertext skopoi and expectations of source texts.

This process was deemed unwieldy for field notes and instead relationships between variables were sought by examining quotes by the same speakers on the different topics covered. Given the short nature of the events in question, any difference in timing in these quotes was not deemed to be indicative of a change of opinion. The co-text of each quote was, however, taken into account when such data were available. In addition, quotes by leaders in the same organisation were taken to be indicative of the organisation's stance, unless the co-text indicated otherwise. Any non-quote information, such as dress, conduct or body language was analysed according to the context in which it occurred. Thus, instances of preachers acting out scenes with interpreters were analysed as indicating a willingness to enter into partnership with them, whereas acting out scenes on their own or with audience members was read as a deliberate performative decision with no direct bearing on interpreting.

The codes used to indicate personal reflections, whilst often not relating directly to the research question, provided valuable data about the development of my thought processes and how my theoretical understanding changed throughout the project. Exposure to more data led to a shift in focus away from particular patterns of expectations towards predictions of their causes. Put another way, the most likely answer to the research question emerged at an early point in the process, with hypotheses as to the reasons behind this being developed and tested later.

Chapter 7

Results

7.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter will explore in detail the results of this study. While the Data and Methodology chapters took each method in turn, this chapter will instead focus on one organisation at a time, in order to offer a more complete view of the links between the variables in each case. After reviewing the results of the survey, which covered the CLW conference and church services, analysis will move to the results of the participant observation and interview data gathered in IEN. Following this, the participant observation and interview results from CLW will be presented. In the latter case, results will take in both the CLW church services and the CLW conference since interviews with the leaders of CLW showed that interpreting at the church services and conference was viewed almost identically, despite the difference in audience. In addition, as will be explored later, the audience at the CLW conference showed expectations that seemed to occupy a midpoint between those of the CLW leaders and those of the IEN group.

In each case, it will become clear that it is only when data from the different methods are combined that an adequate picture of the relationship between the variables under study can be seen. The first data source to analyse is therefore the survey of interpreting stakeholders at the CLW conference and church services. Both groups were taken together given the considerable overlap in the leaders and given that no statistically significant differences were found between the two groups for any of the items that were used in the final analysis.

7.2 Survey results from the CLW conference and church services

There are two main findings from the survey results. The first is that the majority of the survey items did not correlate sufficiently with the latent variable they were intended to measure. This means that the data from these items must be excluded from analysis. The methodological application of this result will be dealt with in chapter 8. The second result is that the correlation between hypertext skopos and expectations of interpreters was found to be very small, although a possible indirect relationship was found, in accordance with the

modified version of Pöchhacker's (1995, 2007) framework. The implications of this will also be discussed in chapter 8.

As explained in the methodology section, the survey results were obtained using an iterative process where items that did not show a satisfactory correlation with their latent variable were progressively removed from calculations. The survey therefore not only allows statistical description of the model of client expectations used in this thesis but also offers estimates of the usefulness of survey items deriving from different sources, the sources here being the work of Alev Balci (2008), Şeyda Eraslan (2008, 2011) and Ronald J. Allen (2004) and two rounds of pilot testing. The table on the next page shows the initial results of the first run of the model, with items displayed alongside their source and their correlations to their latent variables. In all cases, responses were converted to numeric values for analysis. For most items, this mean that the response "Strongly Disagree" was marked as "1", "Disagree" as "2", "Neither agree nor disagree" was marked as "3", "Agree" was marked as "4" and "Strongly agree" was marked as "5". For items marked with asterisks, this order was reversed to ensure consistent scaling.

Item no.	Item Content	ESI	IU	PERF	SKOP	Source
Q3	The interpreter should add their own explanations to clear up potential misunderstandings	0.608311				Eraslan
Q7	The interpreter should agree with the purpose of the church service.	0.409137				Author + Pilot
Q8	The interpreter should be a mature Christian	0.456711				Balci + Pilot
Q16	Noone outside of CLW should interpret in CLW	0.136312				Author + Pilot

church services.

Q19	If the preacher mentions something specific to German culture, the interpreter should (please tick one): [Three choice item]	0.811738	Eraslan
Q2	The interpreter should render every detail of what is said	0.122987	Eraslan
Q4*	The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences	0.786722	Eraslan
Q9*	The interpreter should give the gist of what is said	0.351668	Eraslan
Q10	The interpreter should not allow their beliefs about the “truth” of the sermon to affect how they interpret	-0.43234	Eraslan + Pilot
Q12	The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible	0.406016	Eraslan
Q17	The interpreter should remain entirely objective while they are interpreting	-0.02527	Eraslan + Pilot
Q1	Sermons should challenge your behaviour more than your thinking	0.209231	Allen

Q6	Sermons that touch my emotions have more impact on me than those that make me reflect intellectually	0.725853	Allen
Q11	Sermons seem most compelling to me when I am moved emotionally	0.836499	Allen
Q5*	Sermons should challenge your thinking more than your behaviour	0.171658	Allen
Q14*	Sermons should take a detached, academic approach to the Bible	0.620625	Allen
Q13	I come to church primarily to be connected with people	0.312369	Allen + Pilot
Q15	The best Sunday services are those when I feel I have been touched by God	0.759473	Allen + Pilot
Q18	I come to church primarily to feel connected with God	0.804325	Pilot

Figure 6: Initial results of the PLSPM analysis

The first result that is apparent in this table is that many items did not correlate adequately with their intended latent variables. Item 17, for example “The interpreter should remain entirely objective while they are interpreting” was generated on the basis of the work of Şeyda Eraslan, who asked both audience members (2011, pp. 70–71, 80) and interpreters (*ibid*, p. 93) to rate the position of interpreters on a seven-point scale ranging from “actively

shaping communication” to “absolutely neutral and uninvolved”. For this present thesis, the item was transformed into a likert scale and the term “neutral” was replaced with “objective” as it was felt that the term “neutral” was open to misinterpretation. In this form, the item passed pilot testing in IEN. However, in CLW, its correlation to the latent variable of “interpreting uncontextualised” was slightly negative, meaning that it did not adequately measure this construct.

A more borderline case was that of item Q8, “the interpreter should be a mature Christian”, which was generated as a result of the work of Alev Balci, where her interview respondents consistently stated that interpreters should be strong Christians (see chapter 4). This finding was turned into a likert item and correlated with its latent variable adequately during the pilot in IEN. In the first analysis of data from CLW, this item was close to achieving adequate correlation with the latent variable it was intended to measure: “event-specific expectations”. However, once items with correlations < 0 were removed, this particular item did not correlate adequately with this latent variable and was therefore removed. For item Q12 “The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible”, the opposite was the case. Here, once correlations < 0 were removed, this item correlated adequately with its latent variable.

The third and final iteration of the survey analysis provided a much more stable measurement model. The results of this iteration are presented on the next page.

Item	ESI	IU	PERF	SKOP
Q3	0.69016			
Q19	0.889414			
Q4		0.874383		
Q12		0.654563		
Q6			0.793926	
Q11			0.855023	
Q14			0.600274	
Q15				0.782769
Q18				0.809285

Figure 7: Final results for the measurement model of the PLSPM analysis.

Here, the most noticeable thing is the considerable reduction in the number of items. Due to the elimination of such a high proportion of survey items, the overall descriptive power of the survey is much reduced. For the latent variable of “Event-specific expectations”, for example, this means that this variable is reduced to offering data on the extent to which stakeholders wish interpreters to clear up misunderstandings and how they wish them to deal with culture-specific terms. For the latent variable of the Hypertext Skopos of the event, the only items remaining were those related to the extent to which stakeholders attend the events to feel connected to or touched by God. The theoretical and methodological implications of this result will be discussed in the Discussion chapter of this thesis.

As these correlations were within acceptable limits, the structural model was therefore examined to reveal the inter-factor correlation coefficients, that is, the correlations between the latent variables. These coefficients are presented visually in the diagram below. One again, correlations nearer to 1 or -1 reveal a strong relationship between two latent variables.

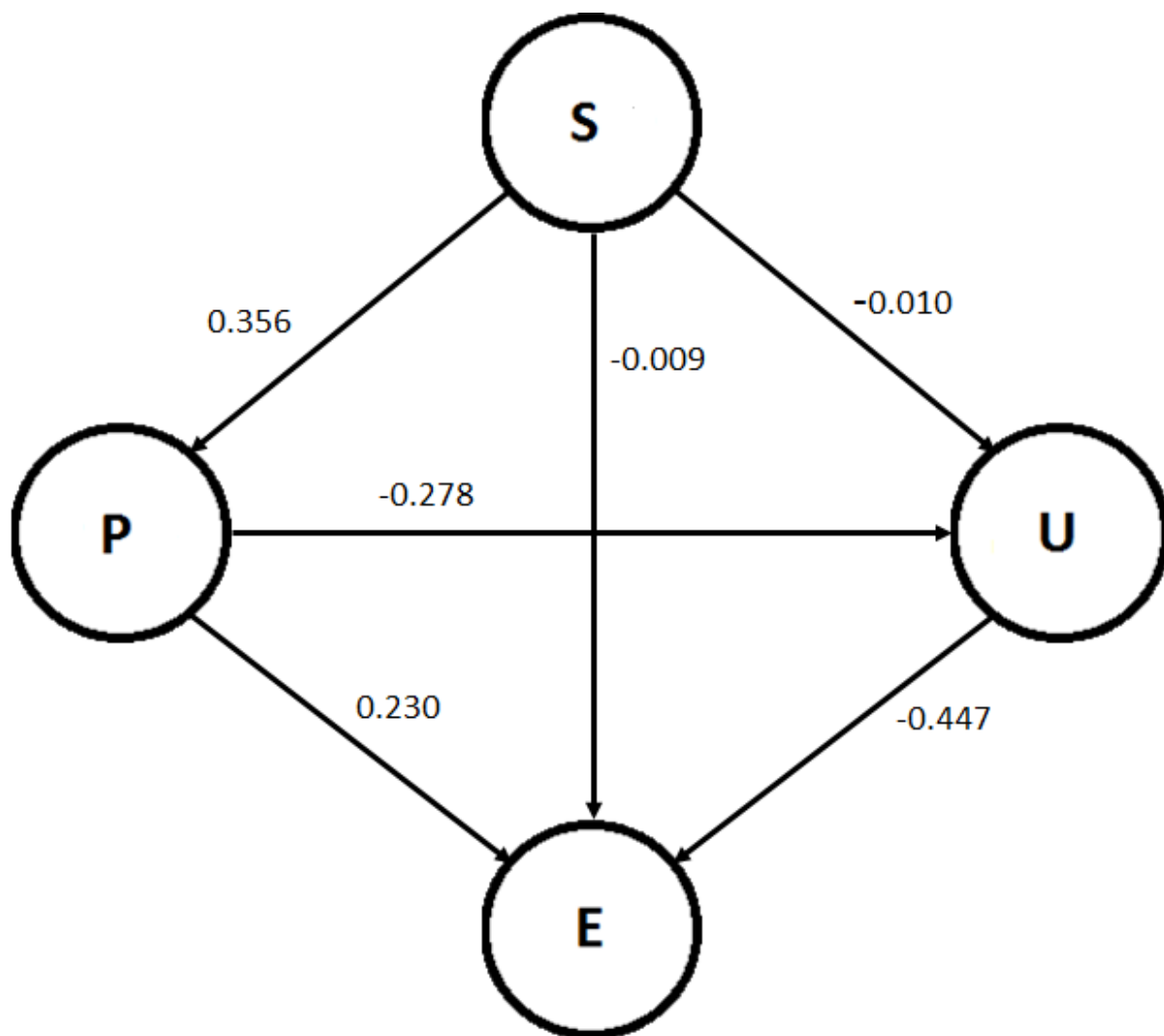


Figure 8: Inter-factor correlation coefficients with the use of the final measurement model.

The most direct answer to the research question can be found in the link between Skopos and Event Specific Expectations, down the centre of the diagram. Here, the correlation coefficient of -0.009 mean that no link was found between these two variables. There is therefore no evidence of any direct link between the hypertext skopos of these events and event-specific expectations of interpreters. There correlation between hypertext skopos and interpreting uncontextualised, the top right hand figure, is similarly near to 0, which means that there is no evidence of a link between views of the hypertext skopos and stakeholders' more generic expectations of interpreters.

There is, however, greater support among these data for the idea that the perceived hypertext skopos of an event has an effect of what stakeholders expect of the texts performed during the event. The positive correlation (0.356) between expectations of hypertext skopos and source

text performance should be interpreted as suggesting that there is a positive relationship between these two variables.

Moving down the left-hand side of the model, following Pöchhacker's (1995, 2007) model, shows a weaker but still positive relationship between performative expectations of the source texts and event-specific expectations of interpreters. There is therefore some limited support for the application of skopos theory to interpreting in the work of Pöchhacker (1995, 2007) as all these latent variables were measured on similar scales. It may be therefore that the effect of perceived hypertext skopos on stakeholder expectations is indirect, contrary to Vermeer (1996, pp. 7–8 see also chapter 3 above).

The correlation coefficients do suggest, however, that uncontextualised expectations of interpreters and expectations that are specific to a given event may be connected. The -0.447 correlation between these two variables is high for this method of statistical modelling. The fact that this correlation is negative indicates a strong link between the two latent variables as they were measured on opposing scales: high values in Interpreting Uncontextualised represented views closer to the normative role sketched out in chapter 2 and high values in event-specific expectations indicated views where stakeholders with interpreters to be more overt in their work. This correlation therefore suggests that the two sub-sets of expectations may be more directly related than was suggested in the work of Eraslan (2008, p.11). While this correlation is not high enough to suggest that the two represent a single category of expectation, it does not seem to be the case that stakeholders at the CLW conference and church services held expectations that were as conflicted as those held by those in Eraslan's study (2008, pp. 20–23).

Lastly, these results provide some qualified support to the idea that stakeholders in church interpreting tend towards expecting interpreters to function as “co-preachers” (Karlik, 2010, p. 167) as shown by the weakly negative correlation between performative expectations of the source text and interpreting uncontextualised. While this correlation is relatively weak, it does suggest that there may be a relationship between performative views of the source texts and views of interpreting that do not conform to the normative expectations of interpreters sketched out in chapter 2. The weak positive correlation between performative expectations of sermons and event-specific expectations of interpreters also provides some support to this

view. In all of these cases, however, the weak correlations, twinned with the low number of items involved, mean that these results may not be representative of larger patterns.

In summary, while the results of the survey are not very robust, there are definite patterns. There is, for example, little support for the view that perceptions of hypertext skopos have any direct effect on stakeholder expectations. There is some limited support for an indirect influence of such perceptions via performative expectations of the source texts. There is some, quite weak, support in the survey for the view that stakeholders in church interpreting expect interpreters to function as co-preachers. By far the strongest result is the negative correlation between uncontextualised expectations of interpreters and event-specific expectations. Due to the scales used, this correlation suggests that these two latent variables are more closely related than indicated by previous work. As the main interest of this section has been on the model of client expectations, the statistical significance of all of these results is found in appendix B.4. For the same reason, the detailed answers to the questions that were used in the final measurement model are also found in appendix B.1.

The survey results alone are not therefore enough to provide a robust understanding of stakeholder expectations in this case. Analysis will now move on to how the data generated by these methods can help to answer the research question in the context of the IEN.

7.3 Understanding client expectations at the IEN conference

As the previous chapter has already mentioned, while surveys were carried out at the IEN conference, the low response rate and the use of a previous iteration of the survey meant that these data were not deemed to be of use to later discussions. The picture of stakeholder expectations and the contexts in which they arose is therefore derived entirely from the participant observations and the interviews. The participant observations, by their nature, tend to concentrate on the context of these expectations and the nature of the texts interpreted. The interviews, on the other hand, while offering space for respondents to discuss the conference and their reasons for attending, tend to concentrate on the expectations themselves. For this reason, within the analysis of the data on each variable, it has been deemed useful to subdivide analysis according to the method by which the data was generated. The main divisions of the analysis here follows the broad outline of the latent variables of the survey, with the

addition of a analysis of the context of the conference and with normative and event-specific expectations of interpreters discussed as part of a wider section on stakeholder expectations.

7.3.1 Context of the IEN conference

In order to understand the expectations that IEN stakeholders had of interpreters, it is helpful to understand how interpreting fitted into the event as a whole. In this case, the mode of interpreting used and the spatial positioning of the interpreters provide useful initial data.

In the notes for the IEN conference, there are, however, only a few details where and how the interpreters worked. There is a mention that the interpreting booth was “at the rear of the hall, beside the sound desk” (F-27/07-1, line 15)¹³ and also that, when a visiting pastor was publicly acknowledged, the position in which this acknowledgement took place would have made it all but invisible to the interpreter on duty (ll. 13-16). Similarly, in note F-28/07 (ll. 82-107), the researcher described his own working methods while interpreting a session on his own. The main physical details in this description are the fact that the interpreting took place “in the booth” (line 84), denoting again the use of simultaneous interpreting, and that the interpreter had a clear enough view of the “large screen” on to which information was projected to be able to use this as an aid (ll. 90-92). From this, it can be deduced that simultaneous interpreting was used during the conference but that the interpreter on duty did not always have a clear view of what was going on. These few details already suggest a fairly limited role for interpreters at this conference, especially given the varied visibility of the people they were interpreting for. With that in mind, analysis will now move onto the hypertext skopos of the conference, as expressed by the stakeholders.

7.3.2 Skopos of the IEN conference

Data on the hypertext skopos expressed by the speakers and leaders and the IEN conference can be summed up in a short quote from Vince¹⁴, who instructed people to “come that you

¹³ The notation in brackets refers to the data set in which each section appears. The first letter denotes that the dataset was either a field note (F) or an interview (I). For field notes, the next digits represent the date in DD/MM format. Where this is followed by a dash and a number, this number represents whether the excerpt is found in part 1, 2, or 3 of that day's notes. For the interviews, the code after the “I-” represents the code given to each respondent by the interviewer to preserve anonymity.

¹⁴ To preserve anonymity, the names of all those named in the field notes have been changed, except where respondents choose to waive their right to anonymity. Here names beginning with “V” are given to visiting preachers, named beginning

may go” (F-27/07-2, line 25). The implication was that the conference was to function as a way of empowering and training people to go and evangelise their communities. This same idea was reiterated by the same preacher the next day as he noted to attendees, somewhat ironically, that “you aren’t serving God sitting here on your bum.” (F-28/07-1, ll. 29-30). On one level, this appears as an indictment of the choice to actually come to the conference. Read in the light of the line quoted earlier in this paragraph, however, it can be seen as a statement that conference attendance on its own was of limited usefulness. What was needed, in this view, was the application of what was learned, most notably in the area of evangelism. In this sense, both of these pronouncements echo his earlier view that “this conference is not just preaching, it is about getting principles of wisdom into you” (F-26/07-4, ll. 22-23). The emphasis in his view was therefore not on the conference itself but on the impact it would have on people.

Vince’s views do seem to mostly reflect the emphases found in the pronouncements by the leaders of IEN. Lee, a senior international leader in the organisation, opened the conference with the announcement that the theme was “reach the harvest field” (F-25/07, line 73). This would seem to be an allusion to the Bible excerpt where Jesus says “the fields are already ripe for harvest. The harvesters are paid good wages, and the fruit they harvest is people brought to eternal life.” (John 4:35b-36a, NLT) In this case, this announcement would mean that Lee also saw the conference as training for evangelism. Similar views were also expressed by a Len, visiting IEN leader, who repeatedly expressed the opinion that people needed to take what they received at the conference and apply it to their own churches and communities (F-26/07-1, ll. 66-70, 77-81, 98-99, 107) and by Vaughan, another visiting preacher, who closed the final sermon of the conference with a coded appeal for people to put what they had learned into concrete action (F-28/07-2, ll. 168-169).

In the interviews, the most common reason given for attending the conference was the opportunity to form new interpersonal relationships or build on existing ones. Ivonne, for instance lauded the opportunity afforded by the conference to see friends and make new interpersonal connections.

with “L” are given to leaders in the organisation, names beginning with “I” are given to interpreters and names beginning with “A” are given to audience members.

C'est un moment où on peut revoir des amies et se faire de nouvelles connections parce que [IEN], c'est vraiment un réseau international.

[It's a time when we can see friends again and make new connections because [IEN] is really an international network] (I-IFF1, ll. 22-23)

Similarly, Leon (I-SFF2, line 22) and Ila (I-IFF2, ll. 18, 34) noted that the conference afforded space for relationships with people, with the latter remarking that the conference brought “bons moments de convivialité” [great times of togetherness] (I-IFF2, 34).

Aside from this theme, the interviewees present much more diversity of opinion as to the purpose of conference than the pronouncements of the speakers. Two respondents, Ila and Leon, mentioned seeing the conference as an opportunity to be realigned with the vision of the organisation (I-IFF2, ll. 17-18; I-SFF2, line 24). Ila's responses on this point are the most detailed, as she stated that she wanted

entendre la vision, être renouvelé dans la vision et euh, être refocalisée jusqu'à l'année d'après dans la vision [IEN] ... (j'attends) des moments forts dans la vision, des messages d'équipement [IEN].

[to hear the vision, to be renewed in the vision and, erm, to be refocussed until next year in the [IEN] vision ... (I am looking forward to) powerful moments in the vision, [IEN] equipping messages.

(I-IFF2, ll. 17-18, 29-30)

Here, the focus would seem to be on logos features of the conference, with Ila wanting to “*entendre la vision*” [*hear the vision*] (I-IFF2, line 17, my emphasis) and “des messages d'équipement” [equipping messages] (line 30). Any sense of pathos that may be perceived in the reference to “moments forts dans la vision” [powerful (literally, “strong”) moments in the vision] (line 29) would seem to be mediated by the logical and pedagogical leaning of the verb “entendre” [to hear] (line 17) and the past participle “refocalisée” [refocused] (line 18). The end result of this process, however, would seem to tend towards there being a perceivable difference in the hearer, since Ila defined a good moment at the conference as “un moment qui va avoir un impact qui va durer” [a moment that will have an impact that will last] (line 32).

A logos-centred view of the conference is also found in the interview with Ivonne, who said that conference was a time when “on entend excellent prédication” [we hear excellent preaching] (I-IFF1, line 21) and by Leon, who called the conference “un temps de ressourcement” [a time of resourcing] (I-SFF2, line 20). Here again, the emphasis would seem to be on the pedagogical function of preaching as part of the hypertext skopos of the conference as a whole.

Adrien held expectations that bore little resemblance to those of Ila, Ivonne and Leon. In his interview, pathos-centred expectations are much more to the fore. As well as looking to feel more connected to the host church, he also looked for the conference to give him “une nouvelle fraîcheur” [a new freshness] (I-AFF6, line 7). He defined the conference as being “un mise à part en Dieu pour, euh, aller sur des nouvelles hauteurs” [a setting apart in God to, eh, attain (literally, go up to) new heights] (line 9). In both these cases, there is little of the pedagogical emphasis found in the other interviews, with the vocabulary tending towards descriptions of subjective, spiritual states. In this context, his expectation that during the specific edition of the conference he was attending he would hear “des nouvelles directifs par Dieu” [new directions by God] (line 11) would seem to be reliant on the attainment of the spiritual and subjective states he mentioned earlier in the interview.

7.3.3 Expectations of sermons at the IEN conference

Much like the data on the perceived hypertext skopos of the conference, data on expectations of sermons tend to show differences between the views of the interviewees and that the expectations that people seemed to demonstrate during the event, as noted in my field notes. In the interviews, where sermons are alluded to, there seems to be an emphasis on their logos or pedagogical function. Any change resulting from this is left unsaid, with the possible exception of increasing focus on the organisational vision. Those preaching at the conference, however, tended to emphasise precisely the ability, albeit restricted, for sermons to produce change. There was a tendency to admit that such change was not an automatic product of listening to the sermon but required work on the part of the hearer. The precise nature of the change sought varied from preacher to preacher.

Much like their definition of the hypertext skopos of the conference, those who preached at the conference tended to view preaching in terms of the impact it would have on later behaviour. The field notes give one particularly strong example of how this view of preaching was put forward by the preachers.

He [Vince] also put forward the idea that the primary focus of preaching was not to make people feel good when he said that preachers should “make people do something with that feeling.”

(F-27/07-2, ll. 142-144)

Here the pathos function of preaching is explicitly relegated to being secondary to the function of producing change. In fact, Len, a visiting IEN leader, made a statement that posited a similar relationship between the content, or logos, of a sermon and its later practical application.

“You hear the messages about ‘we can touch the world’ and go back home to 100 people.” ... “Something needs to happen that that word [a prophecy received at conference] becomes a reality.” (F-26/07-1, ll. 53-55)

Evident in this quote is that there is an assumed gap between receiving a sermon and applying it. The presumed existence of this gap was alluded to later by Lee, who my field notes record finishing a session with the argument that “people would need to keep listening to the messages repeatedly, even after the conference was over, in order to see lasting change in their thinking” (F-26/07-4, ll. 68-71). Again, it is important to note here that the change is based on growth in understanding what has been said – a logos-centred view. Yet, in contrast to the quote from Vince, this excerpt suggests that Lee saw the desired change as being intellectual rather than physical. However, this may simply have been a reflection of the sermon that had just been delivered, in which Vince emphasised changes in attitude to the circumstances in which people were living.

7.3.4 Expectations of interpreters in IEN

As chapter 6 suggested, one of the early outcomes of coding the qualitative data in this study was that it was more difficult to separate expectations belonging to Interpreting

Uncontextualised and those belonging to Event-Specific expectations. In this sense, the qualitative data reflected the high inter-factor correlation coefficient found between these two latent variables in the quantitative data. In both organisations, respondents tended to see little difference between interpreting in a church service and interpreting in general. Differentiating the demands of one type of church event from another was deemed almost impossible, except for the ways in which interpreting mode may have been thought to restrict the interpreters' performative choices.

For this reason, in both this section and in the corresponding section on CLW (section 7.4.4), expectations will be divided in a section on those expectations that seemed to be generic to all interpreting – reflecting the position of interpreting within the organisation as a whole, and those that relate to how interpreters were expected to solve specific problems. In the interviews, attempts were made to keep the two categories distinct. Questions on the qualities of a good interpreter, memories of good and bad interpreting and on whether and how the preacher and interpreter should work as partners were used to try to elicit data on the first of these categories. Data on the latter, event-specific, category were elicited by giving respondents scenarios that may arise during sermon interpreting and asking them how they felt the interpreter should act. An additional scenario, which asked them what they would look for if they needed an interpreter for the specific event, was used to verify some of the data elicited in the earlier, more general questions. Data on these aspects in my field notes tend to be less clearly specific to one category. While some remarks seemed to indicate a general view of interpreting as an activity, others seemed to be more specific to one event while still revealing a wider view.

7.3.4.1 Generic expectations of interpreting in IEN

The clearest reference to interpreting in my field notes comes on the first full day of the conference. Len, a visiting leader of IEN, was expressing his friendship with Lamar, another visiting leader despite the fact that Len does not speak the language of Lamar's home country. The incident is described as follows:

Talking about his visit to Lamar's church in [country], he said "even though I can't talk the language, we love one another." This is a slight misnomer as Lamar speaks at

least passable English. Perhaps Len was actually talking about the people in [country]. Nevertheless, this quote does still suggest an underlying feeling that language is ultimately not a barrier as love can be transmitted through it anyway. In fact, it could be suggested that he sees language, and by extension, interpreting, as a minor matter as he says “Poor old Lamar runs around being the interpreter when he’s apostolic.” Thus, the role of the interpreter is seen as much lower than that of an apostle and it is seen as almost demeaning for the apostle to function as an interpreter. (F-26/07-2, ll. 38-46)

Here, Len seems to view interpreting as a task below apostolic leaders. This view is evident in his remark “Poor old Lamar runs around being the interpreter when he’s apostolic” (F-26/07-2, ll. 44-45). An explicit dichotomy is set up here between leadership – being “apostolic” – and the status of interpreting, with the importance of the latter piling into insignificance in comparison with the former. This would seem to create a clearly negative view of interpreting as work that is “almost demeaning” (*ibid*, line 46) for those with other skills. This view is reinforced by Len’s choice to use Lamar’s leadership skills as a reason why he should not interpret rather than his leadership duties. It would not therefore seem to be the case that Len is arguing that Lamar should not interpret because he is too busy but simply because such work represents a misuse of his leadership skills, since Lamar is described as “run[n]g around being the interpreter” (lines. 44-45).

This view of interpreting would seem to be a by-product of Len’s suggestion that that language is comparatively unimportant, given that he feels that he can “love” (F-26/07-2, line 39) Lamar, even with the language barrier in place. Given that, as has been seen above, Len would later describe the *skopos* of the conference in terms that suggested that language and even preaching were of limited usefulness (see section 7.3.2), it is reasonable to suspect that his view of love across the language barrier here is an example of his view of language itself.

Seeing interpreters as secondary to the original speakers also occurs in the interviews and in off-hand remarks from respondents. Ila, for example, reacted negatively to the idea that interpreters could also be preachers .

Respondent : [laughs] Des personnes qui ont prêché déjà, euh, peuvent amener leur propre influence dans la traduction.

Interviewer : Donc, est-ce que vous préférez quelqu'un qui est assez objectif, qui peut traduire sans, sans avoir leur propres opinions ?

Respondent : Oui. Ça c'est, ça, c'est bien. Quelqu'un qui sait s'identifier au prédicateur mais qui ne laisse pas passer leurs opinions.

[Respondent: [laughs] People who have already preached, eh, could bring their own influence to the translation.

Interviewer: So, do you prefer someone who is quite objective, who can translate, without, without having their own opinions?

Respondent: Yes. That's, that, that's good. Someone who knows how to identify themselves with the preacher but who does not allow their own opinions to be passed on.]

(I-IFF2, ll. 114-118).

Here, the suggestion is that the role of an interpreter involves the temporary suspension of one's own identity and the right to speak one's own opinions in favour of those of the preacher. The problem with people who have already held the role of preacher is, in Ila's eyes, that they might tend to readopt something of this role while interpreting, bringing their own slant to what is said. Instead, the interpreter is pictured as a kind of target language avatar of the preacher, shadowing the preacher's opinions in the target text.

While in the interview with Ila, the secondary status of interpreting is shown in the need for the interpreter to self-identify with the preacher to the point of abrogating their own opinions, a remark from Albert, whose interview was unfortunately corrupted, puts the situation even more bluntly. Commenting on his answer to the question of whether interpreters should be preacher, he drew an analogy between the status of interpreters and that of translators, when he said: "on ne peut pas demander au traducteur (de littérature) d'être écrivain lui-même" [we cannot ask a literary translator to be a writer himself] (F-28/07-2, ll. 177-178).

Here again, interpreting sits in the secondary slot, occupied by the literary translator, while preaching sits in the primary, writer, slot. In a similar argument to that implied by Len, interpreting is seen to be less important than preaching and it is seen to be wrong to allow the two roles to combine. What seems to be at stake is status, rather than the simple chronological reality of interpreting coming after preaching. The use of the "on ne peut pas demander" [we cannot ask] here suggests a sense of finality. The respondent here may be

suggesting that, even if people wanted to ask interpreters to be preachers, the nature of interpreting itself makes this impossible.

This same dichotomy is present in other interviews. When asked about what form partnership between the preacher and interpreter might take, Ivonne suggested that this would involve the preacher pausing at the right time for the interpreter to work and the interpreter having to make sure to

garder le même ton que le prédicateur et il doit pas être un frein. Donc, le traducteur, il doit vraiment soutenir le prédicateur en essayant de faire le maximum comme lui.
[keep the same tone as the preacher and he must not be a brake. So, the translator, he must really support the preacher by trying to be as like him as possible.]
(I-IFF1, ll. 119-121)

Here again, the role of the interpreter seems to involve a measure of self-identification with the preacher, to the point of taking on the latter's mannerisms. The "soutien" [support] (line 120) function of the interpreter here seems to take much the same form as what I have called the avatar role in the analysis of the excerpt from the interview with Ila. Once again, the interpreter becomes the preacher, not with the power and responsibilities that seem to come with the "co-preacher" function in the literature on church interpreting (see chapter 4) but in the sense that the interpreter must allow the preacher's "ton" [tone] (line 119) and ideas to pass without causing a blockage in the preacher's work, here represented by the metaphor of the "frein" [break] (line 120).

In all of these cases, interpreting seems to be represented in ways that are coherent with the traditional, conduit or normative model. Indeed, in his interview, Leon characterised interpreters as "qu'un canal" [only a channel] (I-SFF2, line 112). The interpreting function therefore seems to imply a lack of personal or ethical duty towards what is said by the preacher, with the interpreter's duty being applicable only to the safe passage of what was said into the target language.

Data on what partnership between interpreters and preachers might look like merely repeats this trend. Ila, for example, felt that she could not imagine how such partnership might work (I-IFF2, line 86). Adrien felt that some kind of connection between the two was important so

that they could “lancer le même message” [give (literally, launch) the same message] (I-AFF6, ll. 49-50). His view was that this partnership would be at the level of “langue” [language] (line 57). Given that he had earlier argued that regional accents and production speed were key difficulties in interpreting (ll. 27-30), it may be that this partnership at the level of “langue” (line 57) may be to do with the preacher attempting to level out these difficulties in their performance.

Leon seemed to suggest that partnership and connection were important to establish at first but could be taken for granted as interpreters gained experience and even then was only really needed for interpreting on-stage.

Nous qui sommes Chrétiens, c’est tout. S’ils traduisent sur l’estrade, c’est toujours bien que le prédicateur puissent avoir avant la réunion un contact spirituel et humain avec le traducteur pour, euh, faire passer, pourquoi pas, un bisou, donner une peu les références, les lignes directs [xxx]¹⁵ de son message. C’est pour des moyens pour faciliter, pour faire passer la traduction. Mais bon, après, si le traducteur est expérimenté, on va directement au [xxx] comme on dit.

[We who are Christians, that’s all. If they translate on the stage, it is always good if the preacher can have, before the meeting, some spiritual and human contact with the translator, to, eh, greet them, why not, give them the references a bit, the main points (literally, direct lines) [xxx] of his message. It is for the purpose of easing, to let the translation happen. But well, afterwards, if the translator is experienced, we go directly to the [xxx], as we say.]

(I-SFF2, ll. 87-91)

Here, following the pattern of the previously analysed responses, Leon tends to emphasise the logos content of the message. While he seems to argue for a briefing meeting between the preacher and interpreter, the purpose of this meeting is not purely to build relationship but to “faciliter ... la traduction” [make the translation easier] (line 90). The fact that this is deemed strictly unnecessary for experienced interpreters suggests that the relationship and the interpreter’s skill will become strong enough for them to discover and use the sermon’s structure on their own without help.

¹⁵ Where [xxx] appears in the transcript, this indicates that the recording was unintelligible at this point.

Ivonne gave the most detailed description of all the respondents. Her view seemed to suggest that something more than the conduit model of interpreting was achievable in IEN but only under very specific circumstances.

(L)e prédicateur, par exemple, il doit faire attention à arrêter ces phrases suffisamment tôt pour que le traducteur, l'interprète, il a le temps de faire aussi sa phrase et de ne pas reprendre la phrase suivante trop tôt ... Donc, en fait, des deux côtés, il doit y avoir un effort et parfois même, ils peuvent être une équipe dans le sens du, moi, j'ai eu des prédicateurs qui faisaient des petites blagues et qui, comment dire, s'ils faisaient un petit sketch et m'utilisaient en fait. Donc, même parfois, il peut avoir des petits jeux théâtraux, qui sont très sympa. Donc, c'est une vraie équipe, effectivement. [(T)he preacher, for example, he must be careful to stop his sentences sufficiently early so that the translator, the interpreter, has the time to also do his sentence and to not start the next sentence too early. ... So, in fact, on the two sides, there needs to be an effort and sometimes even, they can be a team in the sense that, me, I have had preachers who did little jokes and who, how shall I put it, they would do a little sketch using me, in fact. So, even sometimes, there can be little theatrical games, which are very pleasant. So, it is a real team, in fact.] (I-IFF1, ll. 116-118, 122-126).

This segment moves from teamwork by turn-taking etiquette to teamwork by joint performance. At first, it is the preacher who needs to adjust their performance to accommodate the needs of the interpreter (*ibid* ll. 116-118). This then leads requirements for both the preacher and interpreter to make an effort to work in a way that is mutually helpful (line 122). Yet, for the two to become a “vraie équipe” [real team] (line 126), Ivonne suggests that a next stage is necessary. This stage would seem to involve the interpreter moving from being a linguistic necessity to a fellow actor, even if their participation is driven and determined by the choices of the preacher (ll. 123-125). It may be worth bearing in mind, however, that such teamwork rests on the interpreter being within range for the preacher to physically “use” (line. 125), something which seems to be possible only if the interpreter is on-stage too (see ll. 116-118, where this is explicitly assumed).

It would also seem important that such teamwork happens at the sole discretion of the speaker. Throughout this extract, while Ivonne stresses that effort is needed on both sides, most of the agency seems to rest with the preacher. It is they who have to adjust their performance; it is they who make jokes; and, in what seems to be painted as the ideal scenario, it is they who create the “jeux théâtraux” [theatrical games] (line 125). This excerpt on teamwork, far from contradicting the more general views of the role and skills of interpreters seems to further emphasise the conduit role of the interpreter by adding a new dimension, that of the interpreter becoming something between a fellow actor and a visual aid.

7.3.4.2 Event-specific expectations of interpreters at the IEN conference

In IEN, interpreting was only once mentioned from the stage, in the excerpt analysed in the previous section. Thus, all of the data on event-specific expectations come from the interviews. Once again, the conduit role is to the fore, with most respondents preferring that interpreters not intervene, even in potentially difficult situations. Where such intervention is not proscribed, it seems to be allowed as a concession rather than as a preferred option.

One scenario that elicited almost identical responses was when the interviewer asked what the interpreter should do if the preacher calls the French audience “frogs”. Leon’s answer is very typical in both his preferred response and his reasoning.

Ben, euh, je veux que l’interprète traduise exactement ce que l’orateur dit et moi, je me ferais ma propre opinion.

[Well, eh, I want the interpreter to translate exactly what the speaker said and me, I will form my own opinion]

(I-SFF2, ll. 111-112)

Here, as in all of the interviews, the roles of the audience and interpreter are kept entirely separate. Consistent with the normative role set out in the generic expectations of interpreters, the interpreter is given only the responsibility to pass on what the preacher said. Ivonne’s response and reasoning underline this point: “je traduirais parce qu’en fait c’est pas ma responsabilité de ce qui est dit devant ... c’est leur problème avec l’orateur” [I would translate (it) because, in fact, what is said up front is not my responsibility ... it’s their

problem with the speaker] (I-IFF1, ll. 183-184, 190). Adrien argued that the interpreter would not be blamed for any offence as “il est pas responsable du message” [he (the interpreter) is not responsible for the message] (I-AFF6, line 76). The consistency in responses was one reason for this scenario being replaced for future work, as was Ivonne’s view that this particular word was so well used as to be almost clichéd and even humorous to her usual audience (I-IFF1, line 188).

What is evident here is that all respondents seem to hold to some variation of the conduit role of interpreters, even when asked questions about specific behaviours. This pattern is only slightly interrupted in answers to the scenario that asked what interpreters should do if preachers are preaching in a boring, monotonous tone of voice. Here, Leon and Ila were agreed that the interpreter should adopt the same tone. (I-IFF2, line 165; I-SFF2, line 123). For Ila, such a decision was mitigated somewhat by her own perceived inability to stay neutral, leading to the use of small, subtle cues of her annoyance.

Je pense que je traduirais sur le meme ton mais je ferais quelques, je, je pense que je ne resterais pas neutre. Un peu d’humeur dans le micro.

[I think that I would translate in the same tone but I would make some, I, I think that I would not stay neutral. A little humour in the microphone]

(I-IFF2, ll. 163-164)

For Leon, on the other hand, this decision would be made for performative reasons, given the deliberate use of “les temps dynamiques, les temps plus posés, et cetera” [more dynamic moments, calmer moments, etc](I-SFF2, line 126) in any given sermon. The assumption here then seems to be that any use of monotony is for performative reasons rather than as a representation of a flaw in performance. Indeed, he felt that any recreation of tonality was supplementary to making sure that the message was understood: “aux mieux que c’est monotone et qu’on comprendre que c’est dynamique et [laughs], qu’on comprend pas une phrase sur trois” [it’s better for it to be monotonous and for us to understand than for it to be dynamic and (laughs), for us to understand one sentence from every three] (ll. 128-129).

Ivonne and Adrien offered different solutions to the other two interviewees. Both favoured the interpreter injecting a more lively tone into their performance. Ivonne gave personal

reasons for this, admitting that she would not be able to hold a monotonous tone for half an hour given their own vocal dynamics:

je prêcherais avec le même ton, euh, mais euh, naturellement, comme moi, j'ai un ton assez dynamique, je pense que je dynamiserais un petit peu quand même sans faire exprès.

[I would preach with the same tone er, but, er, naturally as I, I have quite dynamic intonation, I think I would add some dynamics a bit, without doing it deliberately]
(I-IFF1, ll. 218-220)

The implication here is that retaining the same tone is the right thing to do but it is impossible for this interpreter, who felt that she would try her best not to make up for the preacher's faults, even if she felt she could not pass on the same performative flaws to her audience. Adrien was the only person to fully favour the option of the interpreter changing the original intonation. The reasoning here would be that this would give more "punch" to the message (I-AFF6, line 86).

7.4 Understanding client expectations in CLW

As discussed in 7.1, the data from CLW will be analysed as one site, even though it refers to two distinct categories of events, with separate audiences. Analysis will therefore move through the same steps as were used for the data from IEN. In this case, while the contexts of the events will be kept separate, the views of clients will be treated together, given that the respondents felt that church interpreting was consistent across events. In addition, two of the interviewees, Daniel and Mario, spoke at both events and both help to organise church services. The only audience members interviewed were those attending to CLW conference.

7.4.1 Interpreting in CLW

Before examining the events themselves, it is helpful to take stock of some remarks made by leaders in CLW about how interpreting is seen within their organisation, as well as evidence of how this view of interpreting is developing. An important foundation for this is Mario's remark on the vision of the church, which he recounted to me in my first evening there.

In the words of Mario, they have “left behind the paradigm of being here to help the poor internationals. ... Instead we tell them they are needed as only they can fulfil the international vision.”

(F-05/05, ll. 15-17)

In CLW, those who are not native Germans, here referred to as “internationals” (line 16) are deemed to be essential to the church and therefore their needs are given high priority. I found further evidence for this view in a presentation given by Isabella¹⁶ on the vision for interpreting in CLW.

This presentation situated interpreting within the multicultural and multilingual nature of Bonn, comparing the languages that are spoken here with the ones offered in the church. The vision is to allow everyone to hear the gospel in their mother tongue. (F-09/05, ll. 7-10)

The comparison with the linguistic complexity of the surrounding city seemed to have been drawn to point out just where the interpreting provision in CLW was lacking. Connecting this lack with the overall vision of interpreting would seem to suggest that part of the purpose of this presentation was to encourage the recruitment of more interpreters and to situate interpreting as central to the life and growth of the church. I found support for the latter part of this interpretation of Isabella’s speech on my second Sunday in the church.

I had forgotten on the previous Sunday to note the banners that hang on the left side of the church, from the ceiling down. On one is written “Jesus baut eine internationale Gemeinde” [Jesus builds an international community] and contains flags representing some of the 50 countries whose nationals can be found in the church. On the other side, is a banner with the rest of the flags.

(F-12/05-1, ll. 12-15)

¹⁶ Given the nature of some of the material presented in the interview with Isabella, her name has been changed to grant a measure of anonymity. Mario and Daniel chose to waive their right to anonymity. I deliberately did not take the names of the audience members interviewed at the CLW conference and instead have followed the same convention as I used for the IEN data, giving them names beginning with the letter “A”.

The prominent location and imposing size of these banners would suggest that they serve as a reminder for those in the church and a declaration of intent to visitors. They would seem to be a visual reminder of the “international vision” (F-05/05, line 17) mentioned by Mario and the need for interpreting that this implies, given that the church aims to allow people to “hear the gospel in their mother tongue” (F-09/05, line 10). Yet the use of interpreting in CLW does not seem to be purely a means to an end. Indeed, it seems to have been given a distinct theological function as evidenced later in Isabella’s speech to the interpreters when she compared the work of an interpreter to the work of the first high priest mentioned in the Bible.

Isabella likened interpreting to the ministry of Aaron in the Bible. He was the mouthpiece of Moses, who, in turn, was the mouthpiece of God.
(F-09/05, ll. 6-7)

One possible interpretation of this segment is that it reiterates the speaker/interpreter dichotomy found in IEN, with their being a clear delineation between the preacher (here likened to Moses) who hears directly from God and the interpreter (here likened to Aaron) who only hears second-hand and becomes a “mouthpiece” (line 7). Yet, by viewing interpreting as a kind of priesthood, given the importance of the figure of Aaron in the Bible, it would seem that interpreting is given a place as an important function in its own right.

7.4.1.1 The CLW conference

As with the IEN conference, data on the context of the CLW conference will concentrate on the interpreting mode used and the spatial position of the interpreters. The aim of this, as with similar data on the IEN conference is to examine how much interpreting was foregrounded in this context.

My notes from the conference indicate the use of a form of consecutive interpreting, where the interpreter stands on-stage next to the speaker and works roughly a sentence at a time (F-10/05, ll. 20-21). The most obvious effect of this is to increase the visibility and prominence of the interpreter, a situation exploited in full by some of the speakers. The following

example comes during a sermon given by a visiting German-speaking preacher, working with a female interpreter.

At one point, the preacher chose to use the interpreter as part of an illustration. He faced her, she faced him and he used it as an example of two people having a conversation.

(F-11/05, ll. 102-103)

Only one other preacher chose to use such overt physical interplay with the interpreter. The excerpt below illustrates this interplay and how it was received.

Performatively, the interpreter showed much sensitivity for the demands of interpreting sermons, especially when he echoed the preacher's movements, which were many. This didn't necessarily lead to all the preacher's gestures being echoed but the interpreter did walk around with him.

...

[A]fter the interpreter had gotten down on his knees to copy what Pastor Daniel did at one point. He said

"He is a good translator: he does what the preacher does."

(F-10/5, ll. 57-59, 88-91)

While the wording of the praise is theoretically interesting in itself and will be analysed in detail in section 7.4.4.1, at this point it is more important to note that visible interpreting was encouraged by both preachers. The presence of an interpreter beside the preacher therefore could be used as a performative resource in its own right. In addition, preachers also seemed to use the presence of interpreters as inspiration for the use of code switching, of which I recorded four separate incidents. The following is a typical example, from a visiting English preacher.

The preacher also used a similar trick to the preacher in the previous session when she switched to German and used the German for "nothing is impossible for God". This time, the interpreter managed to switch languages. (F-11/5, ll. 49-51)

Here, the choice to code switch seems to serve as a way of giving special emphasis to a key phrase, as the preacher and interpreter would seem to switch roles, or at least languages, at this point. While such devices are theoretically possible without an interpreter, it would seem that their impact would not be the same.

Interpreting both as linguistic mediation and as a performative act was very much to the fore at the CLW conference. While in many cases, this seemed to lead to interpreters being invited to share the role of the preacher, in cases of code switching or physical interplay, it also left their work open to evaluation by the preachers and the largely bilingual audience. For example, the same visiting preacher as quoted above reacted negatively to the interpreter's attempt to render her sermon title, "An Attitude of Gratitude" into German, remarking "it's not as good in German, is it?" (F-11/05, ll. 36-37).

A contrasting case is that of Mario, who was willing to interrupt his sermon to praise instances of good interpreting and overlook cases of poor interpreting, as I note in the excerpts below.

The word "barley" appeared and, when the preacher used the German equivalent "Gerste", the interpreter had remembered it was "barley" in English and used this in his English version. The preacher, noticing this piece of terminological accuracy said [in German] "This man is good. I had to look that up in my lexicon." A similar incident happened later when the interpreter managed to find the English phrase "intimidate you", to which the preacher responded "Wow!"

...

After one intervention, the interpreter, obviously tired, simply responded with "yeah", at which the preacher just laughed and said, in English, "He's burnt out already."
(F-11/05, ll. 184-189, 194-196)

The first short section illustrates both the growing sense of partnership between the preacher and interpreter, with the preacher unusually allowing the interpreter to read the key Bible verses first, and the readiness with which the preacher praised the interpreter. On two occasions recorded above, Mario was happy to interrupt his own performance to congratulate the interpreter on his. Not only is the interpreter a fully ratified participant in this case but one who is allowed to take centre stage when his skill is seen to deserve it. Yet, it is also an

indication of the prominence given to the interpreter that on those occasions where he did not manage to perform adequately, such as in the second excerpt above, such failings were excused and viewed as unimportant.

7.4.1.2 *The CLW church services*

In terms of working methods, the CLW church services resemble the IEN conference in that simultaneous interpreting was the most prevalent mode (F-05/05, ll. 1-2; F-12/05, line 18).

The following is my description of the location and setup of the booths.

The interpreters are located in single-person booth on the left-hand side of the balcony. On the wall of each booth is an XLR jack, to which the headphones are directly connected, with no independent volume control. Each booth contains one folding half-desk built into it. Visibility varies between booths but for all interpreters, views of the stage are limited and, unless preachers choose to preach from the stage itself, they will be entirely invisible. Once people take their seats on the balcony, what little visibility of the stage the interpreters might have will completely vanish. (F-12/05-1, ll. 18-23)

It can be seen here that, much like in IEN, the interpreters in CLW are placed in a fairly inconspicuous location, here with the added issue of limited views of the stage. There were, however, some exceptions to this arrangement, as the English-speaking interpreters chose to use a mobile headset, with a trailing wire, and sit at the front of the balcony, rather than in the booths (F-05/05, ll. 6-7; F-12/05, ll. 56-57). On neither occasion were there any signs of those seated around them being perturbed by this choice (F-05/05, ll. 7-9; F-12/05, ll. 57-58). Any potential annoyance many have been alleviated as those sitting next to the interpreter seemed to be listening to interpreters themselves, at least on the first Sunday (F-05/05, ll. 8-10).

The one instance of consecutive interpreting seemed to demonstrate how interpreting was seen in CLW.

As part of the announcements, Daniel prayed for those who had recently graduated from a leadership course. ... Mario did provide interpretation of Daniel's prayer into English. (F-5/05, ll. 22-23, 24-25)

Here, we have Mario, the senior leader of the church voluntarily taking on the role of interpreter for a piece of text that was purportedly only meant for the graduates of the course. This suggests that interpreting here is seen as an activity that is worthy of the time of those with leadership responsibilities and that there is no real dichotomy between interpreting and leading. Indeed, in the interview with Daniel, interpreting on Sundays was seen as vital to the existence of the church when he said that “without interpreters we probably, we are doing, I don't know what percentage (of what we do) we'd be doing.” (I-IL, ll. 109-110). Having understood the context of how interpreting functioned in these two events, analysis will now pass onto the skopos of each of the two events.

7.4.2 Skopos of the CLW events

7.4.2.1 Skopos of the conference

The skopos of the CLW conference was declared at one point on the first day, when Daniel said the following:

Why are we here? We are here to minister to the Father. We are here to praise him.
(F-15/05, line 33)

The skopos of this conference was therefore publicly presented as a worshipful service to God. As there was only one mention of the skopos of the conference during the meetings, analysis will therefore concentrate on data from the interviews with conference participants and with Daniel, the organiser.

Daniel saw the conference and the church services as doing similar jobs but in different ways and for different audiences (I-IL, ll. 149-150). He argued that the conference

is very different in the fact that we have guests from outside. They all come. They don't know really each other. A few may know each other and so they, it is very different. In the church here they know each other, at least most. (I-IL, ll. 49-50)

His aim in bringing this group of people together for the conference was to offer “personal development” (*ibid*, ll. 141-142). This term seems to connote both immediate emotional and long-lasting behavioural change.

Of the three audience members surveyed, only one, Arabelle expressed a skopos that was similar to the one given by Daniel. Even here, the change suggested was one of returning to a previous condition rather than entering a completely new one, as can be seen below.

I think the aim is to bring people as well, people have the acknowledgement of who God the Father, ah so, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, to get that relationship, to rekindle it. As they call it, fresh, eh, refreshing. It is like refreshing one in the inside out, strengthening the inner man. (I-CA1, ll. 9-11),

This return is underlined by the use of terms such as “rekindle” (*ibid*, line 10) and “refreshing” (*ibid*, line 11). This restoration of relationship is connected with what might seem like pathos-centred expressions “refreshing one in the inside out, strengthening the inner man.” (line 11).

Anna’s view of the skopos of the conference was likewise couched in terms of continuation rather than restoration: “the purpose of this conference is to keep us free and serving God” (I-CA3, line 17). This may be related to her view that she were attending the conference after attending a previous event led by Daniel and that they were looking to “refresh” the impact that had taken place there (*ibid*, ll. 11-12). Here, her statement does not seem to fit easily into either logos, ethos, pathos or even change. Instead it would seem that the conference is taken as a way of retaining an existing state.

The skopos given by Anderson was unique in that it was the only one to refer explicitly to preaching, listing this as his reasons for attending the conference when he said “I think the purpose is to create an environment outside our normal environment where people can sit and just hear the Word of God.” (I-CA2, ll. 12-13). This statement of the skopos therefore is the only one to concentrate on a part of the conference itself rather than any results it might produce.

In summary, each stakeholder held a different view of the skopos of the conference. In the case of Daniel, the way the skopos was expressed changed between the conference and the interview and even during the interview. The audience members each held different skopoi, even if there were some points of commonality. This therefore represents a similar pattern to the one found in the analyses of the skopoi of the IEN conference.

7.4.2.2 *Skopos of the church services*

Mario gave the most detailed account of the skopos of the church services, situating the services within the vision of the church and the socio-cultural norms and practices of its members. Thus, for the church, he saw the Sunday services as forming part of a “balanced life” (I-CL, line 37) between the need for people to be able to worship God in their own language and the effects of worshipping God as part of a larger, multinational group.

In , uh, church there happens meeting of God with the whole people. That is very important for, I, uh, our identity. I'm not alone in the whole world. There are many others I can worship with, you know. We hear the vision of the church through the pastor, through the elders.

(I-CL, ll. 39-41)

The church services then serve as both the place where people meet as one community and where vision and ideas can be passed on. There are therefore elements of both ethos and logos in this description. It also seems to echo his view that the church should not force people to leave behind their cultural background but to “equip you that you bring the gospel into your cosmos” (*ibid*, line 30). Sunday church services in this view are one piece of a much larger puzzle, in which linguistic difference becomes a tool for evangelism rather than an impediment to it.

[W]e have many cosmosses in Bonn. For instance, we have the Chinese cosmos. You know, they all live in their restaurants, you know and it's very brilliant how the Chinese home church here reaches that cosmos, you know and people who live in that cosmos know only, only speak Chinese. They, they are not able to integrate because they only live in that cosmos. So and that's why we say, you do not have to integrate,

you, you can stay in your cosmos but we want to equip you that you bring the gospel into your cosmos.

(I-CL, ll. 26-30)

While the teaching and learning aspect of Sunday services was present in Isabella's description of their skopos, it was much less emphasised.

The purpose of a Sunday service is for people to, erm, be able to hear from God, to, to worship God, to give thanks to Him and ... yeah, and also to receive a message something to take home with. (I-LL-2, ll. 2-4)

For her, the services existed to allow people an opportunity to meet with God (I-LL-2, line 4) and also to learn something they could apply themselves (*ibid*, ll. 5-6). Elements of change and spirituality are therefore at the core of this definition.

Daniel sought to link the skopos of the Sunday services with the skopos of the organisation as a whole. The place of Sunday services was presented as a way of turning this knowledge into action and further church growth.

[W] e preach the gospel of the Kingdom touching the people who are there. They go out changed, smiling. They meet somebody and say, hey what happened with you, you, you come to a church. So we, we focus on the people because once they are touched and healed, delivered, somebody's going to ask them, something's, something good has happened to you so they invite somebody else. (I-IL, ll. 22-25)

Thus, he felt that Sunday services centred on preaching, which in turn led to people being changed (*ibid*, ll. 22-23). This change was seen to cause church growth as the people attending the church would spark interest in the church due to those around them seeing an obvious change (*ibid*, ll. 24-25). There are therefore close similarities between his definition of the hypertext skopos of church services and the definitions given of the IEN conference.

7.4.3 Expectations of sermons in CLW

7.4.3.1 Sermons at the conference

The data on expectations of sermons at the CLW conference mostly comes from interviews as preachers rarely gave their views of sermons during the conference. The only exception to this is when a visiting preacher was interpreted as saying “I feel a nice sermon is not enough ... [the question is] How do I put this into practice the day after?” (F-11/05, ll. 98-99).

Similar to the *skopos* defined by the preachers in IEN (see section 7.3.2), the emphasis here is on the application of the sermon after the conference rather than any effect during the conference itself.

The expectations expressed by the conference audience often reflected similar concerns. Arabelle, for instance, stressed that no one type or style of sermon was better than another said “We need it all so 'cause God is all-rounded so we need to learn these different aspects of God or the attributes of God, in order to live that life.” (I-CA1, ll. 21-22). Here learning about a range of topics is deemed necessary not for its own sake but for the sake of practical application. In fact, a direct link is drawn between increasing in knowledge of God and the practical impact that such knowledge will have on the hearer. This does not mean that she felt that this link was always clear, as she felt that the one thing that preachers needed to do to help people learn was to “make it practical”, a phrase which appears twice in quick succession in the interview (*ibid*, ll. 27, 29). It would seem that she sees it as the role of the preacher to take the knowledge of the “aspects of God” (*ibid*, line 22) and show clearly what this means for everyday life.

This is very close to the views expressed by Anderson, who felt that in order for audience members to “get what we hear out there” into everyday life (I-CA2, line 31), preachers needed to show how their sermons relate to everyday experience in such arenas as “work, at school, ..., in the trains, whatever” (*ibid* line 28). What this involves in the sermon itself is not entirely clear, as he felt that telling personal stories was not necessarily the correct way to do this (*ibid*, ll. 26-27). This perspective bears striking similarities to the views of Anna, who simply felt that sermons needed to give “real-life examples. The way we live today and how the Bible addresses that issue” (I-CA3, ll. 20-21). She seemed more open to personal stories

than Anderson, as she felt that “stories and examples” (*ibid*, line 26) would help her learn from the sermon more effectively.

Daniel gave a very different perspective. His view was much more concerned with the impact the sermon had on him during preparation.

Before I prepare a message to people, I prepare to myself and I know what happens to me will happen to the congregation. If I cry, if I laugh in the, in my teaching, that's what exactly will happen.

(I-IL, ll. 47-48).

In contrast to the preachers in IEN then, rather than overtly aiming for change in the audience, Daniel looked for the sermon, even its preparation phase, to be challenging to him first, an idea which is summed up in his phrase “for close fifteen years now, the first person to preach to is me” (*ibid*, line 50). Part of this process, in his mind, was for him to increase his own understanding of the Bible by undertaking detailed studies of specific subjects (*ibid*, ll. 45-47). In terms of Allen’s (2004) settings, there would therefore be a combination of logos and pathos at work here.

7.4.3.2 Sermons at the church services

As Daniel’s expectations of sermons were covered in the previous section and, since he felt that they were consistent in both settings, they will be only briefly summarised here. He felt that the emotional impact of a sermon was of prime importance, beginning with its impact on him while he was preparing it. He also saw sermons as the result of a combination of prayer and personal study.

There are some similarities between this view of preaching and that of Mario. Mario’s answer is given in full below:

you can, eh, bring a topic and try to pull the Bible to back up your topic, you know. I think that is poor preaching. I think we, we should preach Jesus Christ, you know. We preach the Word, not our own ideas, not our own Theology or, you know, the new wave, you know. We, I think a preacher should live in the Word. Like the apostles,

they said, we are willing to serve the Word and the prayers, you know, and, and, I think that should a good sermon be. It should come from a servant, someone who serves the Most High God and serves the Word.

(I-CL, ll. 50-55)

Here, the key idea is his view that the Bible should not be used simply as a sourcebook to prove the argument the preacher has predetermined (*ibid*, ll. 50-51) but that instead preachers should speak what God is saying, under the power of the Holy Spirit (*ibid*, ll. 56-57, 61-62) and should live in the way the Bible says to live (*ibid*, ll. 52-54). It would seem that “embodiment”, a term meaning the use of the body in preaching in the New Homiletics (see chapter 4) is given a wider sense here, with the requirement that the preacher’s life agrees with what is being said. It is also important to note that the status of a “servant” here (line 55) is not necessarily that of a servant of the people but of “the Word and the prayers” (line 53). Mario also saw a pedagogical function for sermons as he felt that preaching on Sundays centred on “teaching the Word” (*ibid*, line 70).

Of the three respondents interviewed on the Sunday service, Isabella was the only one to emphasise ethos settings. For her the connection with the preacher was paramount.

it makes it a really good sermon if I know the person's heart, it, it, it's in an, if it's not just like so, not just so intellectual or just feel that if I know somebody's heart is in the message.

(I-LL-1, ll. 38-39)

Here there is an explicit requirement for the listener to feel relationally connected to the speaker. This requirement led to a similarly explicit exclusion of sermons that had clear conceptual content but during which the speaker felt distant (*ibid*, ll. 39-40). It also meant that she wanted to know that the preacher had the interests of the audience at heart, rather than trying to impress them.

Yeah, for me it's really important to, erm, to know or to notice that the person is really wanting to, to not just have a, he is wanting to give something to the people, the p. (sic) He's not just bringing a message but he really wants to leave something with them. (I-LL-1, ll. 46-48)

7.4.4 Expectations of Interpreters in CLW

7.4.4.1 Generic expectations of interpreting in CLW and at the conference

As normative expectations are, by definition, not viewed as being specific to an individual event, the decision has been taken to treat all such expectations in CLW together in the analysis that follows. The emphasis in this section is therefore on the source of the data rather than on any event in particular. Parallel to the analysis of generic expectations in IEN, the emphasis here will be in ways that interpreting was characterised by respondents and on general views on the qualities expected of interpreters. Once again, the emphasis here will be on interview data.

In his interview, Daniel repeatedly underlined that he felt that interpreters were vital, not only to the conference but to his ministry as a whole. In both cases, he viewed interpreters as playing “a major role” (I-IL, line 111) and felt that he could not even estimate how much could be achieved without them (ll. 109-112, see analysis in section 7.4.1.2 above). He also emphasised that he viewed interpreters and preachers as a team that God would use together, with the words “I totally, actually, when I’m praying with the interpreter, I say, Father use us.” (line 97). While the specific outworking of this teamwork, in his view, involved the interpreter following the preacher and echoing their movements (*ibid*, ll. 88-91), there is little evidence of this division of labour leading to the same relegation of the importance of interpreting as found in IEN. Indeed, Daniel actually said that he felt that something important was missing when he was not actively working with interpreters: “I mean as I see as a very crucial person. If the interpreter's not there, to me my heart, man, I'm not free because, I am not complete, yeah? Because I want all get the message” (I-IL, ll. 130-132). The enabling function of the interpreter therefore seems to be viewed as integral to the role of the preacher, who relies on them is the message is to be heard by the entire audience.

The perspectives of audience members on the role of interpreters tended to echo the traditional normative role sketched out in chapter 2. Arabella, for example, saw the perfect interpreter as someone who is “flowing ... out of ... what the preacher is *actually saying*.” (I-CA1, ll. 31-32, emphasis mine). Anderson similarly felt that “the interpreter needs to capture the meaning *as it was originally said*” (I-CA2, line 43, emphasis mine). The emphasis in both of these sections is on the verbal content of the original sermon, placing an interpreter as one

who relays the meaning found at the linguistic level of the source text and at the same time, seeing them as secondary to the preacher, who is producing the text they will need to follow.

This same divergence between leaders and audience members is present in the criteria proposed for choosing an interpreter, with the leaders tended to propose religious and interpersonal criteria, while audience expectations tend to be more logo-centric. Mario began by requiring competence in interpreting, even labelling this a need for people to be “professional” (I-CL, line 107). Emphasis, however, quickly turned to personal characteristics and religious adherence, however, with references to the need for an interpreter to be “responsible in his lifestyle [and] in his words” (*ibid*, line 109) and for them to preferably be church members (*ibid*, 108). For Mario, for example, it would seem that the conduct of an interpreter outside of the booth is as important as their competence in the booth. Further evidence for this found in how he reported that the church had dealt with growing pressure to accept non-members of the church as interpreters due to what he called the current “process of the postmodern” (*ibid*, line 110). This response to this was to ask interpreters who are not members to sign a “codex of values” (*ibid*, ll. 111), which prescribes a “biblical lifestyle not with sexual affairs and so on” (*ibid*, line 112). Personal conduct is therefore seen by Mario as a qualification for good interpreting.

In Daniel’s view, the religious aspect of the criteria for interpreters is foremost. The first criterion he gave was simply one word “prayerful” (I-IL, line 156). His explanation of this adjective shows that, in his view, the logos level of interpreting is entirely subservient to the spiritual and pathos levels.

Eh, an interpreter, as I said, is as important as the preacher. I think we talked about this. That person has to be prayerful, has to be in the spirit, has to feed himself. He's not just coming to, to help me con, eh, pass the message like a postman, just deliver the letters ... A person has to be, interpreter has to really know that this is a calling, as a calling of the, eh, for the pastor. ... so the interpreter has to be prayerful, if I'm to look for (.) and then he has to be in the spirit and then he has to be flexible.
(I-IL, ll. 158-160, 160-161, 163-164)

This response is the only response in the study so far that explicitly places interpreters and preachers as equally important (line 158). Due to this shared importance, Daniel sees

interpreters and pastors as requiring the same sense of vocation (*ibid*, ll. 160-161), and thereby requiring the same kinds of spiritual disciplines (*ibid*, line 159). It would seem that he is aware of an alternative position of interpreters, which would see them as secondary and not directly involved in preaching, the role he labels “like a postman, just deliver[ing] the letters” (*ibid*, line 160). He also gives his reason for not favouring this role, which is connected to his need for flexibility expressed at the end of this quote (*ibid*, line 164). His view is that his messages may change at the last minute (*ibid*, line 165) and so the interpreter’s flexibility and their being “in the spirit” (*ibid* line 164) would form a crucial part of their ability to follow where he is going next.

Isabella’s response also dealt with personal characteristics but this time placed such characteristics as being far more important than technical ability. Foremost among her criteria was for interpreters to have a commitment to and a “heart for” (I-LL-1, line 115) the people for whom they interpret and for their “heart to be in the interpreting” (*ibid*, line 140). This did not exclude people who only wanted to interpret to improve their own language skills (*ibid*, ll. 115-116) but the latter tended to be included in the interpreting team only because “in church you don’t really easily say no and we need people anyway” (*ibid*, ll. 116-117). People were excluded, even if only temporarily, from the interpreting team if it was felt that they were not mature enough as Christians (*ibid*, ll. 119-121). In this case, it would seem that personal characteristics, especially religious commitment, are given primacy over other concerns, an interpretation that is reinforced by Isabella’s view that it was better to listen to someone with inferior language skills but a desire to communicate than to someone whose language skills are perfect but lacks that desire (*ibid*, ll. 146-149).

Her presentation at the interpreters’ meeting gave a very similar view. Here, again, the emphasis was on spiritual characteristics. The placement of this presentation at the meeting suggests that these criteria represent the organisational standard.

Isabella also said that interpreters needed to be competent, have a heart for people and need the anointing (specific power) of the Holy Spirit. Interpreting in this conception was all about bridging the language and cultural barriers that would stop people hearing the gospel. Isabella also said that the interpreter needed to be “spiritually well” and recounted a time where Isabella had asked another interpreter to take over due to not feeling spiritually up to it. (F-09/05, ll. 10-14)

The clear progression in the list of requirements for interpreters, which begins with being “competent”, moves on to the need for a “heart for people” and ends with the “specific power of the Holy Spirit” (ll. 10-11) seems to signal the hybridity of the role of interpreters here. The movement from natural – but not necessarily innate – skill to interpersonal competence, and then to supernatural aid locates interpreting on the complex intersections between the different languages, different groups of humans and between the human and divine. Isabella’s admission that she asked for someone to take her place when she did not feel “spiritually up to it” (ll. 13-14) may be indicative of a prioritisation over the last of these roles over the other two. Used as an example of the need for interpreters to be “spiritually well” (*ibid*, line. 13) this story seems to have served as an example of the preferred policy for interpreting in CLW, or at least as an invitation for other interpreters to do the same.

Audience members, meanwhile, tended to concentrate purely on the relationship between the interpreter and the preacher and between the interpreter’s output and that of the preacher. While two respondents, Anderson and Anna, mentioned language skills as a requirement, in Anna’s account, such skills are almost a given and are wrapped up with other issues. The one which appears chronologically first in the interview with Anna is the issue of the interpreter’s personality, with the requirement that the interpreter be “someone who likes to talk” (I-CA3, line 49) and someone who is “more outgoing” (*ibid*, line 47). Here then, it would seem that the demands of the role supersede anything that can be trained and require an innate trait. From this point of view, her view that the interpreter would need to be a Christian as “If you’re not a Christian, you’re not gonna understand it [the terminology] all” (*ibid*, ll. 52-53) may be read as reflecting the view that this understanding goes past simple intellectual knowledge. This reading is especially likely given the requirement for the interpreter to be a Christian rather than for them to simply understand Christianity.

Anderson’s account of the need for inter-linguistic understanding is similarly nuanced. He expressed this need with the phrase “I look for somebody who understands ... eh, who understands me” (I-CA2, line 56). This phrase seems to emphasise interpersonal understanding above inter-linguistic understanding. This sense of interpersonal understanding extends to the knowledge of the delivery techniques used, or, in his terms “the art of speaking” (*ibid*, ll. 56-57). In this view, such understanding is necessary for the interpreter to adequately portray both the form and content of the speaker’s message, allowing the

interpreter to “anticipate what I intend to say or how I intend to say it” (*ibid*, line 60). The verb “anticipate” (*ibid*) here would seem to allow the reversal of the usual chronological order between source and target texts as it would mean having an interpreter so well “equipped” (*ibid*, line 59) that they can accurately tell what and how the speaker will speak before the words are even heard. This view therefore seems to suggest that interpersonal understanding (the ethos level) will allow enhanced conceptual and semantic understanding (the logos level).

Of the two respondents who do not expressly mention inter-linguistic understanding, Arabelle comes closest to still giving a conduit role-based response, yet even in this case, semantic content seems to be intertwined with other forms of connection. In their view, “They're flowing, flowing. B- the perfect interpreter ... out of ... what the preacher is *actually speaking*” (I-CA1, ll. 31-32, emphasis mine). This response would seem to have two key terms, which bring different connotations: “flowing” and “saying”. “Flowing” (*ibid*, line 31), in this case is likely to have both religious and performative connotations, given that “flowing in the Spirit” is a common theological term in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. The fact that the “perfect interpreter” is said to be “flowing ... out of ... what the preacher is actually speaking” (*ibid*, ll. 31-32, emphasis mine), therefore may make them subservient to the preacher as they will be dependent on the preacher’s flow, rather than anything divine.

The combination of “flowing” and “speaking” therefore serves to relegate the interpreter to a secondary role, with no mention of direct divine contact of their own. They also suggest that the perfect interpreter here is required to make their output as smooth as possible, so that they do not stop or interrupt the “flow”. Even in this perspective, however, it is useful to note that the emphasis here is put on “flowing ... out of” (I-CA1, line 31) as opposed to the production of strict semantic accuracy. What the “preacher is actually speaking” (*ibid*, line 32) therefore would seem to be deemed the starting point for the interpreter. There is therefore both subservience and a measure of freedom in this definition and connections to both pathos and logos levels. The next section will look at event-specific expectations, starting first with the conference, and then at the church services.

7.4.4.2 Event-specific expectations in CLW

Given that I observed two sets of events run by CLW, this analysis will be divided into two parts. The first part will discuss data expectations gathered at the CLW conference.

Here, in response to a scenario on preachers saying something that was clearly theologically incorrect, respondents Arabelle and Anna tended towards expecting interpreters to take action that stopped short of overt intervention. Anna felt initially that the interpreter should ignore what is said before saying that a summary would be better (I-CA3, ll. 58-59). However, when asked what would happen if the interpreter simply interpreted fully what the preacher said, they felt that restating what was said was actually the only option in the circumstances but that this was far from ideal (*ibid*, line 67). Arabelle instead felt that the interpreter should hesitate in the hope that the preacher would restate what they said in a more acceptable way (I-CA1, 48-49). In contrast, Arabelle said that they had preached and had had an interpreter who heavily rephrased what they said, in which case, they were somewhat perturbed but still happy to be corrected (*ibid*, ll. 49-50).

Anderson and Daniel came up with similar responses to each other but for different reasons. Anderson felt that the interpreter should inform the preacher that what they said was wrong.

The right meaning should pass to the u, to the, to the, to the listener. If I, if the pre, if the, interpreter detects there is a wrong message being passed, I think it's okay to, to, to go back to the originator and erm, confirm if they really wanna say that or if they' er, maybe missed something. (I-CA2, ll. 72-75).

The first reason is given therefore that “the right meaning should pass to the listener” (*ibid*. ll. 72-73). Hence, in this case correcting the speaker may be seen as a way of restoring this “rightness” (*ibid*, line 73). This would seem to be further justified by his second reason, which is that the preacher could have made a genuine mistake and did not mean to be incorrect (*ibid*, line 75). For occasions when a wrong meaning might have been intended, Anderson offers a third reason for correction, summarised by them in the sentence “Because I think the interpreter is not a machine” (I-CA2, line 78). This summary leads on to an explanation of his view that the interpreter should not pass on something that was wrong if the speaker did not mean to say it (*ibid*, ll. 78-82). Anderson therefore seems to suggest here

that the interpreter should use their power, as someone who can freely choose what to interpret and what not to interpret, to save the preacher's blushes, covering their mistake. This passage therefore represents a slight move towards the idea of preacher/interpreter partnership, with the interpreter deliberately not adopting the normative "machine" (*ibid*, line 78) role and instead becoming a helper and protector.

This accords very well with the response given by Daniel. Initially, he seemed to offer two possibilities:

We talk of faithfulness [laughs]. He can deliver [laughs] or probably, ah, [laughs quickly] not really say something that is, eh, to say something that is wrong, yeah? (I-IL, ll. 186-187).

However, this was quickly reversed, with him opting instead for the interpreter mentioning to the preacher that their comment was out of place.

Probably what I could expect the interpreter to do is probably to signal the speaker, [whispers] oh by the way, that does not work here [/whisper] [laughs]. That may offend the listeners. I mean, that could help the preacher because, eh, there are things I have given examples especially in, then somebody, very good translators I've worked with, they said, in German it doesn't work. (I-IL, ll. 187-192).

His reason for preferring this option was therefore that this could only serve to help the preacher to preach more effectively, as he felt had happened in his own preaching. Hence, in this example, the emphasis is on the potential positive outcomes for the preacher rather than on the status of the interpreter or their own personal limits as to what they would be happy interpreting.

It is worth noting that many of these responses presuppose that the interpreter is on-stage next to the preacher. This is especially the case in Anna's view that interpreters should use hesitations to prompt speakers to correct mistakes (I-CA1, 48-49) and Daniel's view that interpreters should tell preachers when they may have said something offensive (I-IL, ll. 187-189). This presupposition is largely carried over to the answers of the third scenario, on what interpreters should do if preachers give the wrong Bible reference.

Once again, Daniel and Anderson opted for similar solutions, with both wishing the interpreter to verbally check with the preacher whether the reference was the one they intended to give (I-CA2, ll. 87-88; I-IL, line 202). In Daniel's case, he added to two examples of when interpreters had checked with him and he had realised that he had made a mistake, saying "I was recording a message and then later on my interpreter tells me, you quoted this but I corrected it. [Laughs] Which is really good." (I-IL, ll. 204-205). Arabelle also said that the preacher should be corrected but the brevity of the answer means that it is not clear how she feels this should be done, as she only gave a one word answer, "yes" (I-CA1, line 55).

Anna therefore was the only respondent to opt for a solution that was applicable to all modes of interpreting. She felt that the interpreter should simply give the right reference. "I mean some pastors actually give out notes ahead of time but if he says the wrong thing, just say the right thing." (I-CA3, ll. 71-72). This seems to be predicated on a different assumption, namely that the interpreter would have received the sermon notes beforehand.

So far, it would seem that the solutions proposed tend to lean towards interpreters playing an active part in the communication of the sermon, even acting as the partners of the preacher. Against this background, Daniel's answers to an additional scenario, which asked what the interpreter should do if the preacher is monotonous, form an interesting contrast. While he previously had tended towards arguing for the interpreter to play a very active role, in response to this scenario, he gave a much less clear response.

Well, what did I say, I meant, the interpreter has to do what he's supposed to do. You get it? Because, at the end of the day, you, you are planting the seeds and, the, someone else is gonna water them and only God will bring the increase. Yeah.

...

The interpreter's just to be faithful to deliver because, at the end of the day, you know the preacher is respon, is accountable to God. (I-IL, ll. 227-229, 233-234)

Here, Daniel's response seems to suggest that the interpreter should simply relay the intonation of the preacher. The reasoning here seems to follow a similar line of reasoning to that found in IEN with the preacher's accountability to God (line 234) being mentioned without any mention of the interpreter having a similar level of accountability.

Expectations of interpreters at the CLW conference therefore seem to be more diverse than those from IEN, with most responses implying partnership between the speaker and interpreter and tending not to stress subservience to the speaker in the same way as the expectations expressed at the IEN conference. It is much more common for respondents to stress the interpreter's personal and spiritual qualities and to derive from these a set of expectations that place the interpreter as a close partner of the preacher. The exception to this trend is Daniel's response to the problem of monotonous preaching.

As the three audience members at the conference were not members of CLW, it is useful to contrast their views with those of the remaining CLW interviewees, Mario and Isabella. Their responses to these scenarios will be covered in the rest of this section.

Moving on from expectations of interpreters at the CLW conference, the rest of this section will discuss event-specific expectations at the CLW Church Services. Here in response to the scenario on how interpreters should deal with serious theological mistakes, Mario and Isabella agreed very closely and both chose to answer based on personal experience. Mario recounted a particular instance of when an interpreter was faced with this very issue.

We had it once that a, a pastor was preaching something very wrong and our interpreter came to me after the service and I just was silent. I could not, I could not do it with my conscience to speak these words or to interpret and I said, you are right. (I-CL, ll. 85-88)

It is clear from this excerpt that Mario agrees with the interpreter's choice not to interpret. The reasoning here implies that the interpreter must be happy that they can ascribe to the opinions they are relaying. In performative terms, it would seem that Mario is arguing that the "not me" element of interpreting can and should be trumped by the duties implied by the fact that the interpreter is aware that they are "not not me" (see section 4.1.2 above). Mario also reported that, in response to this incident, the church had created a process to safeguard against repeats of such incidents.

I mean we have as elders promised the church members that everywhere we preach in, on the pulpit or in the home cell groups, we will stick to the Word of God and will

not preach anything that is inappropriate (*sic*). I mean what we did, wh, (*sic*) there was one time that was two years ago and we made a church meeting and we were publicly discussing the points which were anti-biblical.

(I-CL, ll. 90-93)

The discomfort and silence of the interpreter in this case therefore seems to have been answered by a public meeting and a commitment on behalf of the leadership. This same commitment seems to have been reflected in Isabella's response. After giving an account of a time when she refused to interpret for a speaker during the second morning service because she had disagreed with what they said during the first service (I-LL-1, ll. 161-171), she goes on to recount another similar incident and how the church reacted to the issue:

we have had the situation that, erm, they have invited visiting speakers and there was, none of the leadership was there (laughs) and he would interpret and also sometimes he would not really be sure or happy because normally if I know the person who is preaching, even if I don't understand or if I think they are totally off, because as an interpreter I trust this person and I know they are going somewhere, they are going to explain this, so it will be okay so I just say what I hear. Erm, but if it's somebody you don't know from outside and you, you're just having to, you say what you hear because you have to trust the person you're interpreting and there is nobody from the leadership sitting up front. Erm, yeah, so we talked to our leadership. They agree always to be there if there is somebody from outside so there, if we have doubts we can look at them (laughs) and they will, erm, show us, indicate through sign language that it's okay.

(I-LL-1, ll. 177-186)

Here, once again, the discomfort of the interpreters led to changes in the operation of the church in the provision of a safety net so that interpreters can visually check with leaders if they are unsure of something that is said. The provision of this system would seem to be to reduce the need for interpreters to either be silent – as they were in the last excerpt from Mario's interview – or for them to say something that goes against their conscience. All of this would seem to be based on trust: between the interpreter and preacher that the preacher is not going to force the interpreter to breach their conscience and between the interpreters and leaders that the leaders will rescue or reassure the interpreters in borderline cases. This

scenario therefore seems to represent one of the key issues with interpreting in CLW. Interpreters here seem to require a system to be in place to save them precisely in cases where the preachers say something that is theologically questionable. How this system may work when the interpreters are working from the booth and cannot see the leadership team is not apparent from either interview.

The scenario on correcting minor errors to Bible passages, is the first where Isabella and Mario differ markedly. Mario's response seems to suggest that he would rather that interpreters mentioned privately to preachers any small errors that came up.

Yeah. Normally I, I would, eh, eh, encourage that they do it one to one because if you would expect something more, I think you would, would eh load on the an extra, eh, eh, responsibility I do not want them to carry.

(I-CL, ll. 101-102)

In this response, the key word would seem to be "responsibility" (line 102). In a theme which has been common throughout this thesis, it would seem that Mario wishes to separate the responsibilities of preacher from those of interpreters, with only the former having to ensure that Bible references are correct. Yet, this recommendation did not lead to a complete ban on correcting minor mistakes. Instead, he viewed the final decision as something that would depend on the personality of the interpreter, "I mean if somebody is a real you know, there are people who are very much responsible in their nature: they cannot live in another way. They have to correct it, I mean, let's go. Do it. Feel free." (ll 102-103). Unlike Daniel, Mario therefore seems to place the personal convictions of interpreters at the core of decision-making, rather than what the preacher might be able to learn.

Isabella felt simply that interpreters should give the correct version (I-LL-1, ll. 275, 277-278). She also felt that, when faced with preachers using monotonous intonation, interpreters should inject more dynamics because "because he wants to bring the message across so he should just, erm, tch, put his emotions and his heart everything in it so that the message gets across" (ll. 265-266). The interpreter's main loyalty in this case would seem to be in ensuring the good reception of the "message", with the term here seeming to refer to the conceptual content and performative impact of the sermon. This same rationale was also used to argue that "if you are interpreting from a booth you have to put more in it, you have to go a little bit

over the top” (*ibid*, ll. 268-269). Isabella this seems to be arguing that the lack of visual cues has to be made up for by the addition of vocal ones.

Given the substantial power accorded to interpreters in the interview with Isabella, I sought to further explore the reasons behind this power. Isabella gave two main reasons, the first was the trust felt to exist between the interpreters, preachers and audience (I-LL-1, ll. 283-284). This trust was perceived to have been built up due to shared religious affiliation, an awareness of the responsibilities of each role and a readiness to co-operate with each other (*ibid*, ll. 290-298). A second factor given by Isabella to explain the power given to interpreters was that their role formed a necessary part of the vision of the church.

Yeah, because, erm, *you're not just interpreting words*. You also have to interpret, at least I think this would be anywhere the case, we are interpreting for people who are maybe new in Germany, who eh, need to, eh, understand Germany as well and, erm, so you are always, erm, as an interpreter you are always, it's important to understand like both ends and to be a bridge.
(I-LL-1, ll. 320-323, emphasis mine)

The highlighted phrase is a fair summary of the position of interpreters in CLW. There seems to be a general view that their role involves much more than simply passing on the words of the preacher to the congregation. Their work seem to include taking on responsibilities for the impact of the sermon, enabling church unity and growth, helping in the continual development of preachers and even, with some reservations, acting as gatekeepers for the theological content of what is said. Even among those who do not attend CLW, it would seem that some measure of this attitude towards interpreting has been taken on board. While some of their views echo the normative, conduit role of interpreting so prevalent in IEN, there is plenty of evidence of a growing move away from this role towards giving interpreters an active place in preaching.

7.5 Concise summary of results

The results from the survey, interviews and field notes seem to show a consistent pattern of the skopos of an event being related in only the most tenuous ways to the expectations that stakeholders have of interpreters. The consistency of expectations in IEN compared to the wide differences in perceived skopoi provides support for this. In the CLW conference and church services, while there was more variation in expectations, once again, there were no particular relationships between these expectations and perceived skopoi. In the interview data, Arabella and Daniel shared related views of the skopos of the conference but Anderson was much closer to Daniel's expectations of interpreters.

Approaching the data through the lens of Pöchhacker's (1995, 2007) framework, it can be seen that, while there is some support for his hypotheses in the survey results, the picture presented by field notes and interview data is more complex. The IEN conference seems to present qualified support for the relationships suggested in his framework with the close relation between the hypertext skopos related by most preachers of producing change and the subsequent reduction in the perceived power of sermons as the responsibility for this change was passed to the audience. At the CLW conference, however, Arabella, Anderson and Anna all held closely related expectations of sermons despite their differing skopoi and different expectations of interpreters.

There is some indication of a link between expectations of the source texts and of interpreters in the data from the CLW church services and the IEN conference. It is possible that the consistent reduction in the importance given to sermons at the IEN conference in favour of the actions that they provoked led to the consequent reduction of the perceived importance of interpreters at the conference. It is also possible that, if this represents an organisational ideology, it may help to explain the positioning of interpreters as conduits for the words of the preacher by interview respondents. Similarly, in CLW, Isabella's views on the importance of trust and partnership between interpreters and preachers may be related to her preference for personal connection with preachers. It is also possible to posit a link between Mario's emphasis on the personal character and religious affiliation of preachers and his requirements for conduct in interpreters. In the data from Daniel, the subjective, pathos- and prayer-centred view of preaching may also be related to his religious requirements of interpreters.

The work of Eraslan (2008; 2011) received a much stronger challenge in the data. Due to the scales used to measure the normative and typical role in the survey, these two areas show the highest agreement, contrary to Eraslan's work. In the interviews, in almost every case, generic views about interpreting are reflected strongly in views on how interpreters should handle specific challenges. At the IEN conference, consistent emphasis on the interpreter as someone who simply says what the speaker says is reflected in responses to specific scenarios. Only in the case of monotonous preaching do any respondents suggest any action that conflicts in any way with the conduit of interpreters.

In the data from CLW, the same pattern is broadly repeated. Daniel's emphasis on interpreters as partners in preaching is reflected in his responses to specific scenarios, where interpreters are given the freedom to overtly signal to preachers when necessary. Similarly, Isabella's emphasis on interpreters who care for those for whom they interpret tends to be reflected in the focus on interpersonal relationships in her response to specific scenarios. Mario's requirements for personal conduct and religious affiliation among interpreters also seems to provide the foundation for his responses, which allow interpreters freedom to manoeuvre based on personal religious conviction and personality.

Among the audience of the CLW conference, the picture is not so clear. While all three audience members interviewed tended towards giving generic views of interpreting based on the traditional normative role, responses to the specific scenarios tended to allow more freedom for interpreters. This is most evident in the preferred responses to serious theological mistakes, which tended towards covert strategies for hiding or correcting the error. In cases of minor errors, all respondents leant towards simply correcting the mistake.

These results provide interesting theoretical and methodological challenges for interpreting studies, as well as providing insights into the variety of roles that church interpreters can be expected to play. The next chapter will therefore examine the import of these results to those in the particular organisations, researchers in church interpreting and Interpreting Studies more broadly and to interpreters as a wider group.

Chapter 8

Discussion

The previous chapter concluded that there was little evidence of a direct link in this case between the hypertext skopos of the events and the expectations of stakeholders. The data, it was also argued, suggest that there is some basis for the use of a modified, hybrid version of Pöchhacker's (1995, 2007) framework, alongside the insights provided by work in the New Homiletics when modelling stakeholder expectations. Lastly, these data seemed to suggest that, *contra* Eraslan (2008, 2011), normative and event-specific expectations of interpreters were closely linked in this case. This chapter will take these findings and discuss their meaning and relevance for three separate groups: the stakeholders of interpreting in the two organisations studied, researchers in church interpreting and in Interpreting Studies more broadly, and practising interpreters. The structure of this chapter will therefore move from more specific, contextually-grounded implications of this work to more general and wider applications.

8.1 Re-interpreting interpreting in IEN and CLW

If hypertext skopos is not a strong factor in stakeholder expectations in either IEN or CLW, this leaves open the question as to what the more relevant factor(s) might be. As this thesis began by viewing stakeholder expectations research as a useful step in monitoring and improving the interpreting provided in a given setting, I have argued that the discovery of the factors behind these expectations forms a vital tool for the interpreters who carry out this work. Yet it is striking just how closely the views of the interpreters (Ila, Ivonne and Isabella) coincide with the views of the leaders with whom they regularly work: Leon, Daniel and Mario. It would seem that these interpreters have internalised views of their work that sit comfortably within their contexts. Indeed, this striking commonality between the views of leaders and interpreters in a given organisation provides a strong argument for the existence of a factor that is accessible and comprehensible to an almost equal extent by interpreters and preachers. Conversely, the hybrid expectations of the audience members at the CLW conference, which contained elements of both the conduit role and of the types of co-preacher role found in earlier work in church interpreting, suggest that this factor may also have an

effect on the expectations of those who are new to an organisation, perhaps increasing in strength as their familiarity with and experience of the organisation increases.

These patterns of expectations would therefore seem to suggest that it is the meaning and position given to interpreting in an organisation that is the strongest determining factor in the expectations of stakeholders. Where interpreting is represented as both a necessary part of the life of the organisation and a valuable means of furthering organisational aims, interpreters seem to be expected to act in close partnership with speakers. Where interpreting is represented as a necessity due to language difference but peripheral to the aims of the organisation, the responsibility of interpreters seems to be limited to ensuring that the semantic content of the speaker's speech is adequately understood.

In IEN, evidence can be found for this in the fact that viewing interpreting as secondary to leadership and preaching is common amongst all stakeholders and can be found in the interviews and my participant observation notes. Interpreting in IEN therefore seems to be a means to an end – a required but not necessarily valued part of organisational life. Len's disapproval of the fact that "[p]oor old Lamar runs around being the interpreter when he's apostolic" (F-26/07-2, ll. 44-45) can therefore be read as the public declaration of this view with Albert's assertion, "on ne peut pas demander au traducteur (de littérature) d'être écrivain lui-même" [we cannot ask a literary translator to be a writer himself] (F-28/07-2, ll. 177-178) becoming a reflection of its personal inculcation.

To be an interpreter in IEN therefore means being secondary to the preacher and waiving the right to one's own voice. Ila's view that, when looking for an interpreter, she would look for "[q]uelqu'un qui sait s'identifier au prédicateur mais qui ne laisse pas passer leurs opinions" [someone who knows how to identify themselves with the preacher but who does not allow their own opinions to be passed on] (I-IFF2, ll. 117-118) would seem to be a precise summary of this position. The idea of "identification" here would seem to be something similar to Gile's view of the interpreter as the speaker's *alter ego* (2009, p. 34 italics in original) but with an even greater leaning towards the traditional, conduit role, which Gile argued was opposed to his view of the interpreter's role (see section 3.1.2 above). In Ila's view, this identification means the muting of one's own views for the length of the interpreting assignment.

Expectations of interpreters in IEN therefore are coloured by the meaning given to interpreting in this organisation, much more than they are affected by any other factors. In this context, it is unsurprising to find little evidence of a link between the hypertext skopos given to this event and expectations of interpreters, as the latter would seem to be pre-determined. It is also likely that the possible link between the emphasis on the actions produced by sermons and the view of interpreters as neutral conduits is a reflection of related organisational views of preaching as a means, albeit limited, of producing change and interpreting as a means of passing information from preacher to audience. In both cases, it is the end result, the change in action, which is privileged over all other concerns. Hence, no matter where preaching appears, expectations of it are likely to be similar and wherever interpreting appears in this church, it is likely to be characterised in terms reminiscent of the conduit model.

Interpreting in IEN is therefore a necessary but not necessarily valued means to an end. This view can therefore be labelled as “incidental interpreting”, reflecting the fact that, in theoretical terms, there is not much difference between the assumed function of interpreting in IEN and the imagined function of a microphone or sound system. Interpreting here seems to be viewed as a function that it is required to be filled because of the spread of the organisation, rather than one that is placed at the core of the organisation’s existence or vision. Put in other terms, it is peripheral to the work of IEN rather than central to it.

The contrast with the meaning and position given to interpreting in CLW is striking. Once again, it would seem that it is this meaning and position that is the dominant factor behind expectations of interpreters rather than any of the variables mapped out in the model. In CLW, evidence can be found for this explanation in the fact that the interviews provide evidence of interpreting being viewed as being vital for preaching and for the stability and growth of the church. Similar views are also represented in the quotes and behaviours presented in the participant observation notes. The divergence between the skopoi given to the Sunday services by Isabella, who focussed on their function as a worshipful service to God, and Mario and Daniel, who emphasised their function as a driver for community change, is not reflected in any differences in their expectations of interpreters. In all three cases, interpreters are seen as being close partners of the preacher, serving as gatekeepers of theological content, carrying the values of the church and in some cases, even helping preachers to improve their preaching.

To be an interpreter in CLW does not mean being expected to mute one's own identity; rather, it seems to be holistic, involving and include the interpreter's body, mind and spirit – note, for example, Isabella's indication that she opted out of interpreting when she did not feel "spiritually well" (F-09/05, ll. 10-14, cited in section 7.4.4.1). It also seems to mean taking a measure of responsibility for the impact of the sermon as a multilingual text co-performed by two people. In this context, it is therefore unsurprising to find Daniel argue that "an interpreter is as important as a speaker" (I-IL, line 114). Indeed, this would simply seem to be the logical outcome of the church's decision to focus on "internationals" as the only people who can allow the church to "fulfil the international vision" (F-05/05, line 17). Interpreting here supplies bridges between both preaching in one language and the hearing in another and, perhaps more crucially for the church, between the teaching brought on Sundays and at conferences and the practical application of this teaching by the congregation through the week.

What may seem more surprising is that there was some evidence of this view of interpreting affecting those at the CLW conference, even if they were not CLW members themselves. In the cases of Arabelle and Anna, this is evident in their use of conduit model logic when talking about interpreting in general while seeming more open to overt intervention by interpreters when presented with specific problems. Anderson's case is more complex. In his generic criteria for interpreters, there is a mix of both conduit role and more overt interpreting in play, with him arguing that "the interpreter needs to capture the meaning as it was originally said" (I-CA2, line 43) but looking for an interpreter "who understands me" (line 56). His event-specific views of interpreting, however, hinge on his simple assertion "I think the interpreter is not a machine" (line 78) – an assertion which formed the foundation for many of his suggestions. It would seem therefore that the data from the audience members at the CLW conference therefore illustrate occasions where the contradictions found in Eraslan (2008, 2011) may arise. It may be that the default model for interpreting is the conduit model, especially in cases where incidental interpreting is in use. However, it would seem that this can be challenged by exposure to other approaches to interpreting.

Expectations of interpreters in and around CLW seem to be filtered through and coloured by the meaning given to interpreting in that organisation, much more than they are affected by any other factors. In this context, it is unsurprising to find little evidence of a link between the

hypertext skopos given to events and expectations of interpreters, as the latter would seem to be pre-determined. It is likely that the similarities in the expectations of interpreters amongst Mario, Daniel and Isabella, despite differences in their views of sermons, reflect the accepted *modus operandi* of interpreters in this organisation. Similarly, the relatedness of their generic expectations of interpreters may simply echo organisational norms.

Interpreting in CLW is therefore viewed as a vital and valued part of the organisation's existence and future success. This view can therefore be labelled as "integral interpreting", reflecting the fact that it seems to be commonly felt that without interpreting, the church would not only fail to attain its vision but would simply cease to exist. In addition to being integral to the organisation, interpreting in CLW seems to integrate a number of theological and performative functions, necessitating exacting standards of conduct both while interpreting and in-between assignments. Put in other terms, it is central to the work of CLW rather than a peripheral activity.

The views of the audience members at the CLW conference therefore seem to show that median points do exist between these two views but that they involve some form of compromise or contradiction. Integral interpreting, with its emphasis on the interpreter as a co-performer would seem to be inimical to incidental interpreting, as it questions the hierarchical set of relations on which this model seems to be based. Similarly, incidental interpreting, with its resignation of responsibility and clear delineation of roles would seem to run counter to the requirements of integral interpreting, with its emphasis on partnership and shared responsibility. The reality on the ground is that such incoherent positions occur when people are exposed to integral interpreting, perhaps because the tenets of incidental interpreting become difficult to reconcile with the outcomes of the overt involvement of interpreters that takes place when integral interpreting is used.

A third position, independent of this binarism but closely related to it, can be located in church interpreting literature. In chapter 4, it was noted that the church studied by Cécile Vigouroux (2010), provided something that looked like interpreting even though there was strictly no need for it. It was argued that the reason for this was that the provision of interpreting was deemed both politically astute and a necessary step in fulfilling the vision of the church. Unlike the two churches studied in this thesis, Vigouroux's (2010) study therefore presents a case of interpreting being valued but not actually needed in terms of the

organisations current makeup. This attitude to interpreting will be labelled “symbolic interpreting” since interpreting in this case has symbolic, performative functions that mold or even supersede its purely linguistic function.

These three positions therefore represent different combinations of how organisations perceive the value of interpreting and how they perceive their need for it, in terms of the organisations current cultural and linguistic makeup. Incidental interpreting occurs when interpreting is deemed as necessary in terms of the organisation’s current makeup but not valuable in terms of its future vision and strategy. Symbolic interpreting is the opposite case. Here interpreting is assigned a high value in terms of the organisation’s vision but is accepted as not strictly necessary given its current makeup. Integral interpreting therefore occurs when interpreting is deemed as both a necessity and as a valuable part of the organisation’s future. When interpreting is deemed neither a necessity nor valuable, it is likely that it will not occur at all. These four approaches to interpreting can therefore be placed on a simple matrix, as shown below.

Perceived Value	High	Symbolic Interpreting	Integral Interpreting
	Low	No Interpreting	Incidental Interpreting
		Low	High
		Perceived Need	

Figure 9. Matrix of organisational attitudes to interpreting in terms of perceived need and perceived value.

The position given to interpreting within the organisation in terms of this matrix would seem to be a stronger factor in client expectations than any event-specific factors. The answer to the research question posed in this thesis would therefore seem less important than the meaning of this answer for those who experience interpreting in the contexts studied. The weak relationship between hypertext skopos and expectations and even the stronger link between expectations of sermons and expectations of interpreters seem to be symptomatic of the wider value choices made within the organisations. In short, interpreting would seem to be defined and experienced through the lens of organisational values, making interpreters

carriers of these values, even in the case of incidental interpreting. That interpreters in CLW seem to be given greater responsibility for the impact of the sermon and hence more power to affect its course appears to be nothing more than the practical application of the multicultural focus of the organisation. That interpreters in IEN tend to be expected to function as neutral conduits likewise seems to be a reflection of the focus on the actions inspired by the sermon over its semantic or performative content. It may be that any overt action by the interpreter would be viewed as a further risk to the success of the sermon

This would seem to suggest that interpreters in these organisations would do well to deliberately investigate organisational priorities and the perceived need and value of interpreting before they interpret. It also suggests that researchers in church interpreting and in Interpreting Studies may need to reconsider how they conceptualise any act of authentic interpreting before and during their work. This need for reconceptualisation and even re-theorising will be discussed in the next section.

8.2 The implications of the study for future research

8.2.1 Church interpreting research

As well as being situated as a study of stakeholder expectations, this thesis was contextualised within the small but growing sub-field of church interpreting, which has historically concentrated on interpreted sermons. The work explored in chapter 4 seemed to show that church interpreting was consistently different from other forms of interpreting in terms of the relationship between the speaker and the interpreter, encapsulated in the term “co-preacher”, which first appeared in the work of Jill Karlik (2010, p. 167). The theoretical result of these differences was the formulation of the single performance hypothesis, which posited that all stakeholders view the source and target texts as a single multilingual performance (see section 4.1.2) when sermons are interpreted.

This thesis challenges the universality of such conclusions in church interpreting research. While the integral interpreting found in CLW does indeed seem to fit within the prevailing pattern found in such research, the expectations found in IEN do not. Rather, the characterisation of interpreting and of interpreters in IEN seems to follow the conduit role. While the data presented here are insufficient to reach any firm conclusions as to why exactly

this might be the case, the very existence of this counterexample suggests that research in church interpreting will need to explore the kinds of organisational and theological issues that allow such cases to arise. In fact, given that such incidental interpreting seems relatively rare in church interpreting, it is likely that church interpreting research will need to seek to understand why some churches do not adopt integral interpreting, opting instead for incidental or symbolic interpreting, rather than simply exploring instances of integral interpreting at work. A similar but opposite move will need to take place in wider Interpreting Studies research will be discussed in section 8.2.2.

In theoretical terms, the existence of incidental interpreting in IEN may serve as a driver for the reappraisal of the use of the single performance hypothesis and of the term “co-preacher”. If either the single performance hypothesis or the term “co-preacher” is to be used in future church interpreting work, such use will either need to ensure that the terms are stripped of any *a priori* associations with shared responsibility or to ensure that their use is restricted to instances of integral interpreting. While two respondents in IEN found it difficult to define or comprehend the idea of speaker/interpreter partnership or characterised it as a first and eventually obsolete step, Ivonne’s description of times when she did feel like she was partnering with the preacher suggests that characterising interpreters as “co-preachers” may be valid for some forms of incidental interpreting, most notably when on-stage consecutive interpreting is used. The strict division of responsibilities between the preacher and interpreter would, however, seem to mitigate against the uncritical use of the single performance hypothesis in church interpreting.

While it would seem that, in integral interpreting the multilingual sermon becomes a single performance due to the sharing of responsibilities for its impact, in cases of incidental interpreting, the multilingual sermon would only seem to become a single performance by virtue of the interpreter’s role in delivering the preacher’s sermon. To borrow a theatrical metaphor, in integral interpreting, the performance takes place with the interpreter and preacher as fellow actors sharing the stage; in incidental interpreting, the single performance takes place with the preacher as the puppeteer and the interpreter as the marionette. With symbolic interpreting so poorly represented in church interpreting literature to date, the only application of the single performance hypothesis remains the study by Vigouroux (2010). It seems from this study that, in such cases, the interpreted and source language sermons serve

as a single performance of the organisation's vision by virtue of the presence of an interpreter on-stage, even if their output fails to function as an intelligible target text in its own right.

There is nothing in the results to suggest that the interpreting mode had any bearing on the power of the single performance hypothesis. While simultaneous interpreting was used at the IEN conference and CLW church services, expectations differed in the two organisations. Similarly, while short consecutive interpreting was used at the CLW conference, expectations among CLW leaders were the same for both the conference and the church services. The dividing line was found in this case between CLW leaders and some audience members. In addition, the expectations uncovered in the interviews with the CLW leaders and the CLW interpreter, in which most examples were taken from church services, were mirrored in their behaviour at the conference. It would seem therefore that the status of the single performance hypothesis has more to do with organisational attitudes to interpreting than with any interpreting mode.

In short, the findings of this thesis suggest that church interpreting must be understood within the context of the churches in which it takes place, much as Francine Kaufmann (2005) construed interpreting in Judaism within the historical and theological mores of the communities involved at that time. While it may seem natural and even desirable to shine a light on the non-traditional interpreting practices found in church interpreting, previous research has already shown that these must be understood in terms of organisational socio-politics (e.g. Rayman, 2007; Vigouroux, 2010). Much like Vigouroux (2010, pp. 355–360), I take the position that it is unfruitful to attempt to understand such overt interpreter behaviour without seeking to understand what the function of interpreting is in a given context. Where this thesis advances the debate is that it argues that the expectations that frame and favour any given set of practices are closely related to the extent to which an organisation deems interpreting to be central to its existence and its future. In other words, both interpreter behaviour and the expectations around this behaviour are driven by the organisational view of how necessary and valuable interpreting is. Hence, studies seeking to understand either stakeholder expectations of interpreter behaviour will need to take into account how these may have been conditioned by wider organisational factors. Research in church interpreting therefore cannot presuppose the operation of integral interpreting in any given setting, neither can it follow the approach taken by Odhiambo et al (2013, pp. 195, 202–205) or Salawu

(2010, p. 133) and presuppose the validity of traditional professional norms to all instances of this phenomenon.

One particular application of this is that it would seem that the ways that respondents expect the source texts and interpreted target texts to interact therefore depends on how respondents wish interpreters to resolve the “not me ... not not me” paradox (see sections 4.1.2 and 7.4.4 above). Organisations operating within the incidental interpreting approach would seem to look to resolve the paradox by dissolving the second half of the statement and seeing interpreted sermons as essentially a monolingual performance that, for the sake of necessity, has had the work of an interpreter appended to it. Organisations practising integral interpreting would seem to resolve the paradox by attempting to reconcile its two halves rather than preferring one over the other. In this sense, Daniel’s view that a good interpreter is someone who “does what the preacher does” (F-10/5, line 91) can coexist with his wish for interpreters to correct preachers so that the latter can learn to preach more effectively (see analysis of I-IL, ll. 187-192 in section 7.4.4.2.1) as they represent two sides of the same expectation that interpreters and preachers will work as partners. In the first case, this partnership involves the adoption of the preacher’s body language to enhance the performativity of the sermon. In the second case, this partnership involves alerting the preacher that their particular performative choice at that moment will detract from the performance of the sermon.

What seems to be taking place in this example of integral interpreting is therefore that the concepts of “preacher” and “interpreter” are merged in a process akin to what Fauconnier and Turner (2003, pp. 17–38) call “conceptual blending,” where elements from two distinct concepts are combined analogically to form a third new one. In the case of integral interpreting in CLW, it would seem that elements of the concept of a preacher, notably responsibility for what is said and how it is said, are combined with elements of the concept of an interpreter, such as bilingual communication abilities and their need for a speaker to direct their performance, to form the concept of interpreter-as-partner, or, to use the more established term, “co-preacher” (see section 4.1.2 for an initial discussion of this concept).

While the theoretical application of such a blend will be discussed in section 8.2.2.2, it is useful for the moment to note that viewing integral interpreting as an instance of conceptual blending may help to explain some of the themes of church interpreting research. The

expectations found in Balci's study that church interpreters should be Christians themselves (2008, pp. 54–55) and the recurrent motif of the fully involved and committed interpreter in the work of Hokkanen (2012, pp. 291, 305–306, 2014), can be explained as the natural product of the interpreter taking on and being expected to take the role of a co-preacher. Conversely, if churches favouring integral interpreting blend bilingual communication with the function of a preacher in their concept of interpreting then it would seem that Salawu's plea for churches to have a "*prise de conscience*" and use professional interpreters (2010, p. 133) is misplaced as it fails to take into account the complexities of the task of a church interpreter.

Organisations practising symbolic interpreting may wish to see interpreters resolve the "not me ... not not me" paradox (see sections 4.1.2 and 7.4.4 above) by altering their position at different points according to the progression of the sermon (e.g. Vigouroux 2010: 325-354), rather than choosing a single static position vis-à-vis the speaker and the audience. Here, instead of a true conceptual blend, there is simply a reselecting of which side of the paradox to privilege depending on the perceived performative requirements of different points of the sermon.

In methodological terms, this means that any use of data on the output of interpreters should be coupled with data revealing the position and use of interpreting in the church. Hence, it would seem that purely corpus-driven approaches to church interpreting are likely to founder as they may fail to include the variables that are affecting interpreter choices. Likewise, data on the behaviour and attitudes of individual interpreters may need to be triangulated with data from other stakeholders to provide the necessary explanatory data for any opinions expressed. The implications for this in research in other areas will be described in section 8.2.2.1.

The use of surveys in church interpreting research may also require some adjustment. While the findings of this thesis do tie individual views to corporate values, this has come about by combining methods, rather than by seeking to use one method to uncover both perspectives. It may well be possible to adjust surveys to capture both individual expectations and corporate values but this will require thorough changes in the tools currently available. At the very least, it would seem to be the case that correlational research, with its emphasis on how different variables are related, would seem a more apt approach for resolving this issue than the descriptive approaches found in most stakeholder expectations work.

It may well be that single method studies will be severely limited in church interpreting, given the specific complexity of this phenomenon, which seems to require researchers to draw on insights from Theology, Interpreting Studies and Sociology. If organisational values, expectations of events and expectations of interpreters consistently relate in the complex ways uncovered in this thesis, it would seem that capturing their interaction in any given organisation will require multi-method approaches. Such approaches, while already known in church interpreting research (see chapter 4) require the formulation of theoretical frameworks that allow the multifarious variables that are relevant to church interpreting to be accounted for in some way. In fact, just as the development of work on stakeholder expectations hit a critical impasse due to difficulties in theorisation leading to methodological problems (see section 2.2.3), church interpreting research may soon be confronted with the same problem. The difference between the two, however, would be that, while stakeholder expectations work can be said to have reached this point due to a lack in consistency and sensitivity in the research instruments used (see section 2.3), the potential problem in church interpreting research would instead be the difficulty in accounting for organisations like IEN where interpreters do not seem to function as co-preachers in the same way as they seem to elsewhere. If the prevailing picture of church interpreting at the moment is that it challenges or circumvents existing theories and typologies in Interpreting Studies (e.g. Vigouroux, 2010; Hokkanen, 2012, pp. 296–298) then the existence of cases such as IEN where expectations bear striking resemblance to the conduit role stands as evidence that church interpreting practice can provide data that support these hypotheses too.

In short, this thesis suggests that church interpreting, or at least expectations of church interpreters, must not be viewed as homogenous. It may therefore become increasingly difficult to make statements about church interpreting as a practice, with the emphasis instead falling on how disparate cases can be related. Once again, this would seem to be an argument for a continuation of field methods and multi-method approaches. Conversely, if differences in organisational attitudes to interpreting preclude simplistic theorising about what might be true of church interpreting as whole, this is likely to have knock-on effects on any work that seeks to sample large numbers of cases. At the very least, such work would need to provide a means whereby data on the Theology of interpreting held by each organisation and the meaning given to interpreting as an activity in each organisation can be collected. Of course, this does not preclude the use of large-scale, multi-organisational surveys but instead

suggests how such work might proceed. Once again, it would seem that correlational research may need to take precedence over simple descriptions of how many organisations see interpreting in any given way. For example, it would seem to be more fruitful to ask whether the connection found between the integral interpreting approach and a readiness to encourage overt partnership between the preacher and interpreter found in this study holds true over a wide range of churches rather than simply trying to see whether integral, incidental or symbolic interpreting is the most prevalent approach.

If this connection is consistently present, integral interpreting could be seen as a way of allowing the “not me ... not not me” statement to move from being a paradox to becoming a statement of the need for interpreters to involve their entire selves in the co-performance of the single, multilingual sermon, just as preachers are expected to involve their whole selves. Mario’s insistence on high standards of personal conduct from interpreters (I-CL, ll. 107-112) and Isabella’s view that interpreters needed their “heart to be in the interpreting” (I-LL-1, line 140) give further credence to their reinterpretation. In fact, the consistency of such views and the power that tended to be given to interpreters in CLW (see section 7.4.4.2.2) suggests that it may be useful to rephrase Schechner’s (1985, pp. 110–112) paradox in a positive form, with echoes of Turner’s idea of “quantum interpreting” (2004, p. 189). Thus, instead of the interpreter being negatively characterised as “not me ... not not me” (à la Schechner) or of the nature of the interpreting being entirely a co-construction of the participants (à la Turner), I would like to posit that, in cases of integral interpreting, the interpreter is simultaneously viewed as speaker AND not speaker, me AND not me. The states are therefore viewed as being superposed – to borrow another term from quantum physics – rather than being mutually incompatible. What seems to be valued in integral interpreting is therefore the ability to allow these two states to interact so that the interpreter can partner effectively with the preacher.

This thesis has argued that incidental interpreting, integral interpreting and symbolic interpreting can arise in church interpreting, with very different affects upon expectations of interpreters and the expected relationship between the source and target texts. Thus, while the specific reasons behind the predominance of a given view in a given organisation are, as yet, unclear, it would seem that this matrix forms a useful theoretical starting point for church interpreting work, with a knock-on effect on the way that methods are used and combined in

this area. Some of these implications would also seem applicable to work in the wider field of Interpreting Studies and it is to these wider implications that this thesis will now turn.

8.2.2 Interpreting Studies

If the existence of incidental interpreting stands as a challenge to existing work in church interpreting, the existence of integral interpreting and symbolic interpreting would seem to be a challenge to wider Interpreting Studies. Fundamentally, the existence of integral and symbolic interpreting as organisational attitudes suggests that research into interpreting needs to take this organisational context into account. Broadly speaking, this can be said to have an effect on two levels of research: methodology and theory.

8.2.2.1 Impact on Interpreting Studies research methods

The methodological import of this study mostly centres on the need to create methods that are sensitive enough to cover both the context in which interpreting takes place and how this context affects stakeholder expectations. The use of surveys is a case in point. It is striking that, despite the use of established work in Theology and Interpreting Studies and despite two pilot stages, only 9 of the 19 items in the survey passed statistical testing. That the high rate of attrition was particularly noticeable for the most established items in stakeholder expectations work (only two items remained out of six to measure ‘interpreting uncontextualised’) would seem to indicate that there is a need for reflection on the items used in such surveys. Simply put, there is little evidence that the concepts underlying the items used in much stakeholder expectations work are fit for purpose. In this sense, these results confirm the concerns of Mack and Cattaruzza (1995, p. 45) regarding the relevance and usefulness of the items used in client expectations studies for respondents. In addition, as suggested in section 2.2.3, it would seem that almost all of these pre-existing items only measure interpreting uncontextualised and are therefore not sensitive enough to capture views consistent with integral interpreting.

It is likely, therefore, that for surveys to capture the relevant variables in stakeholder expectations research two changes will be needed. The first change is that their scope will need to be widened to include items that capture details of how the organisation views

interpreting. Given that, in this thesis, all of the data on this area was captured using participant observation and interviews, creating survey items that allow such data to be captured may be a real challenge. One possible solution would be to ask questions about the importance and value that the respondent feels interpreting has in the organisation. In addition, further research may identify particular practices that may be associated with integral interpreting, such as giving public praise, making explicit mention of the importance of interpreting or using the interpreter in role plays. Surveys could then ask how prevalent such practices are in a particular organisation. One caveat to expanding surveys to include items on organisational attitudes to interpreting is that some respondents may not be entirely familiar with how interpreting works in the organisation being studied and so their responses may not reflect actual practice.

The second change that seems to be needed to stakeholder expectations surveys is that future research is needed to generate items that are both understandable by respondents and theoretically sound. This will most likely involve doing collaborative qualitative research in a particular organisation before generating the survey, reversing the order in which the methods were used in this study and gathering details on individual and organisational expectations before building tools to measure how consistent patterns of expectations are across the organisation as a whole. Implicit in this order is that the items that may be relevant to one organisation may not be relevant in another. The precise way in which integral interpreting is expressed by clients of sign language interpreters in an educational setting in a developing country may differ widely from how this same approach to interpreting is expressed in medical interpreting between two spoken languages in Western Europe.

Using qualitative data to generate the items for quantitative surveys does pose real problems for broadening the scope of client expectations research beyond the level of individual organisations. If it is the case that items relevant to one organisation are not necessarily relevant to another, comparing research from one site to research done in another will be problematic, especially if researchers want to do such comparisons using quantitative methods. Thus, there would seem to be no immediate prospect of being able to offer a methodologically sound quantitative account of how expectations differ in different organisations. Instead, qualitative research, including observations of interpreting practice in different organisations, would seem to offer a more fruitful avenue of work in the short-term. Even in such qualitative research, however, there would seem to be a pressing need to ensure

the quality and consistency of data taken in different organisations, if the comparisons made are to be rigorous.

The use of qualitative data also means that the researcher becomes a central figure in both data gathering and analysis. In sections 6.3.1 and 6.4, I was very clear that my binocular perspective as both a researcher and participant in the interpreted events became both a critical lens in its own right and a possible source of unwelcome distraction. In church interpreting, Sari Hokkanen (2012, 2013, 2014) has repeatedly stressed the potential for research that not only acknowledges the place of the researcher in the research project but welcomes it. In this thesis, while I have consciously not placed the researcher as the centre of analysis, it would seem to be naïve to assume that my own attitudes towards the research sites have not been evident. Any findings on stakeholder expectations are therefore necessarily filtered through my own pre-existing knowledge of the sites and the theoretical frameworks within which the research was carried out. It seems likely that any future qualitative research on stakeholder expectations will need to take similar issues into account and address the fact that researchers, by their very presence at an interpreted event, become stakeholders in it. The mental and methodological processes by which the data were gathered and analysed therefore become as important as the findings gleaned from the data. The notion of researchers being able to gain an entirely objective view of what other stakeholders want from interpreters would therefore appear to be questionable, if for no other reason than the fact that by selecting which data will be deemed relevant and how such data will be analysed and discussed, researchers are making subjective decisions.

This admission that there is a degree of subjectivity involved in stakeholder expectations research and that the views of the researcher impinge on the selection and analysis of data need not be taken to mean that such research will always remain at the level of describing individual cases. On the contrary, the same need for consistency and rigour mentioned regarding the use of qualitative and quantitative methods for data gathering apply here too. What would seem to be needed is research to discover which variables and tools can be applied to a wide variety of organisations without losing sensitivity while still accounting for the precarious but powerful position of the researcher. The first step in this process would seem to be the formulation of an initial theory as to the analytical categories to be used and how they might relate. This process would be similar to the one used in this thesis, leading to the creation of theoretical models that could be tested and adjusted according to the data

available. In this way, which items and interviews may need to be adjusted for each site, there could at least be general agreement as to what the relevant theoretical categories will be and how they can be defined. Methodological advances therefore would seem to rely on theoretical advances, as predicted by Mack and Cattaruzza (1995, pp. 45–47). The next sub-section will therefore turn to the theoretical implications of the findings of this thesis.

8.2.2.2 Impact on Interpreting Studies theory

At the beginning of this section, it was argued that the presence of integral and symbolic interpreting as attitudes to interpreting presents theoretical challenges to Interpreting Studies. This sub-section will examine why this is the case and what it suggests for how interpreting is theorised.

Given that this thesis sought to describe the relationship between hypertext skopos and stakeholder expectations, the first and most obvious implication of the findings of this study are that hypertext skopos does not seem to be the “basic-level category” (Pöchhacker, 1995, p. 35) for analysis. In fact, even taking the point that “orientation at the skopos alone... is insufficient to guide strategic processing decisions for a given text segment” (Pöchhacker, 2007, p. 127), the findings of this study would suggest that the hypertext skopos is actually a relatively unimportant variable in the description and explanation of stakeholder expectations. Rather, organisational attitudes to interpreting, summarised in this thesis in the form of a matrix plotting the interaction of the perceived need and perceived value of interpreting in any given organisation and perhaps depicted in Pöchhacker’s later illustration of his framework as “inst. norms” (*ibid*) would seem to be a much stronger predictor.

If methodologically speaking, this means that the values of the organisation in which interpreting takes place need to be analysed before individual decisions are accounted for, the theoretical outcome of this is that any attempts to theorise expectations must begin at the organisational level too. The skopos of an individual event, whether expressed in typological terms or in terms of the purpose defined by participants, therefore becomes the vehicle for how these values will be manifest in a local context. It is important to note then that, in this view, organisational values would shape or perhaps even supersede any commonalities found between similar events. This suggests that event typologies will be of less theoretical use than

organisational typologies. Expectations of interpreters at an AGM of an organisation using integral interpreting would therefore be different to those of interpreters at an AGM of an organisation using incidental interpreting.

The texts that are interpreted at such events themselves can therefore fruitfully be seen as presentations of the values that pre-exist them. Assuming that the events during which these texts occur are a regular and accepted part of organisational practice, the organisation will likely have established norms covering the purpose and delivery of these texts that are coherent with the wider values of the organisation. In this context, the interpreted Parent-Teacher meetings studied by Elena Davitti (2013) can usefully be read as instantiations of the values of the institution and educational system in which they take place above and beyond their status as a common discourse genre. Interpreters in such contexts will not only need to know about the purpose of such meetings but the social and linguistic norms governing their use in the institution in which they will be interpreting.

Arguing that interpreting reflects organisational values is not new to Interpreting Studies (see e.g. Beaton, 2007b), however, where this thesis advances the debate is in the discovery of the power of organisational values to affect expectations of interpreters. If the inconsistencies found in client expectations the work of Eraslan (2008, pp. 20–23) are interpreted in the same way as I interpreted those of Arabelle, Anna and Anderson in this study, then it may be suggested that the process of moving from an incidental to an integral view of interpreting begins with the acceptance of more overt problem-solving strategies at a specific event before producing shifts in how interpreting is conceptualised as an activity. Such shifts do not seem to be brought about by exposure to different types of event but rather by exposure to different organisational values, as reflected in the strategies adopted by interpreters at a given event.

It is therefore likely that a converse move is also possible. If clients at an event can change their views based on the performance of interpreters, then performing in a manner consistent with integral interpreting can be viewed as a factor in changing in the organisational view of interpreting. Clients exposed to medical interpreters who take into account the emotional state of patients in how they handle sensitive subjects (e.g. Clifford, 2004, pp. 89–90), for example, may grow to see the value in this practice, leading to longer-term changes in the ways that interpreting is seen by medical institutions.

Put in skopos theoretical terms, the focus on the organisational level means that the focus of analysis would shift from the skopos itself to the commissioner, or more correctly, the commissioning organisation. Their values and the norms they have constructed around diversity, language and interpreting seem to be the determining factors in explaining and perhaps even predicting expectations of interpreters. This, of course, assumes that the commissioning organisation can be easily defined, as it could be in the two cases studied in this thesis. It may be that in some cases, notably where interpreters are brought in by an agency at the request of an end client, that defining the commissioning organisation becomes difficult. Further research is still needed therefore to show how such complexities can be resolved. What need not be assumed, however, is that the organisation must have an explicit position towards interpreting. On the contrary, this thesis has suggested, on the basis of existing research on client expectations and on the way that professional interpreters describe their own work, that incidental interpreting may be the default position.

What remains to be explained is how and why organisations choose to move away from this default position towards integral interpreting and why symbolic interpreting arises in some cases where there would seem to be no need for interpreting at all. Such research would not only have important theoretical implications but would have very practical outcomes for interpreters too. These outcomes, along with those that arise more directly from this thesis will be discussed in the next and final section of this chapter.

8.2.3 Implications for interpreters

The implications of this study for interpreters need to be seen in the light of much of the work that has been discussed throughout this thesis. Thus, the existence of integral interpreting can be fruitfully read in the light of the work of Diriker (2004) and Eraslan (2008, 2011) to suggest that a certain picture of the normative role, which seems to be supported by the prevailing views of international interpreting organisations, interpreters and the media (at least in Turkey, see Diriker, 2004, pp. 25–50), places interpreters as neutral conduits of information. Yet, in these two studies and the work of Vigouroux (2010), the relationship between this role and actual interpreting practice is challenged. It seems that the traditional normative role, based on the conduit model, is simply one option and may be dispensed with if stakeholders feel that a more visible, collaborative form of interpreting is necessary. This

present thesis moves the debate forward by suggesting that the traditional normative role seems to face its greatest challenge when interpreting is a valued part of an organisation, a position labelled here as “integral interpreting”. The opposite also seems to be true, where stakeholders preferred interpreters to act as neutral conduits, this was accompanied by a reduction in the perceived value of interpreting as an activity, here labelled “incidental interpreting”. Verification of this pattern from other field sites will be needed before its importance can be measured but, if it does seem that incidental and integral interpreting relate in the way suggested in this thesis, this would have three principal implications for the profession.

The first implication is that interpreting organisations would need to re-evaluate the ways in which they promote and advocate for their profession. If Diriker’s pattern of interpreters and interpreting organisations tacitly promoting the conduit model (2004, pp. 25–50) is repeated elsewhere, this would mean that those with most to gain from interpreting being valued are working against their own cause. It may be that, if interpreting is to be valued, promotion of integral interpreting and of the potential difference that interpreters can make, above and beyond the transfer of oral or signed semantic information from source language speaker to target language audience, will need to take place. This would even apply in such traditionally conservative forms of interpreting as court interpreting, where the position of the interpreter as one who actively works with the court to ensure justice is done would seem more apt than painting the interpreter as one who works invisibly and without any impact on the proceedings. Indeed, the traditional model of the court interpreter as someone who can and should interpret without regard for cultural differences has come in for sustained challenge (e.g. Berk-Seligson, 2002; Gallez and Maryns, 2014). Moving the prevailing attitudes from incidental to integral interpreting would therefore encourage a new, more empirically-grounded appreciation of the work of court interpreters. Such a move would also necessarily include a reappraisal of their standing in the eyes of the court and in the eyes of the jurisdictions in which they work.

The second implication of the relationship between integral and incidental interpreting being repeated elsewhere is that professional training and development would need to take on board the demands of high value, integral interpreting clients. A call for a similar move in the training of translators have already been made by a leading professional (Jemielity, 2014). Such a move in interpreter training would involve helping students understand the need to

take on board the values and commitments of the organisation within which they work, even as freelancers, and then to reflect these values in their output. This would go alongside the existing ability, shown by interpreters in the study by Napier and Barker (2004), to design target language output according to the structure of the source and target languages and the likely reception of the semantic and attitudinal content of the input by the target language audience. It would also necessitate a need to adjust training on interpreting ethics to reflect the growth in the responsibility of interpreters that seems to be implied in integral interpreting.

Research in community interpreting has already made it clear that traditional interpreting ethics tend to break down precisely in those situations where interpreters can add the most value to the other participants (see e.g. Clifford, 2004; Zimanyi, 2009) but integral interpreting would suggest that such problems are not restricted to community settings. In fact, should integral interpreting be found outside of church interpreting, it would suggest that many of the same questions around the extent to which the interpreter should take on additional responsibilities above their work in the transfer of semantic content are relevant to other forms of interpreting too. Taking on these roles consciously and fairly would require additional training and would require both the profession and those providing training to recognise the complexities involved.

Moving towards training on how to perceive and take on organisational values in interpreting would also reflect the possibility that the behaviour of interpreters can itself be a factor in inducing changes in expectations and hence modifications in organisational attitudes to interpreting as an activity. Offering integral interpreting before it is requested may be a useful strategy to increase the value organisations put on interpreting. Put simply, training could help interpreters offer more than is expected to help clients see the value in partnership with interpreters.

Should symbolic interpreting be found elsewhere, the challenges for training will be more complex. Given that, in such cases, interpreting exists because of what it represents rather than strictly because of linguistic needs, little of the traditional normative role of interpreters would seem to be relevant. It may be that interpreter training will need to cover such cases and prepare trainee interpreters for the possibility that their clients may expect them to adopt a flexible role vis-à-vis the speaker and the audience.

One final possible implication of the findings of this thesis being repeated in other studies would be that the traditional separation between professional interpreting and non-professional interpreting would be problematized as it would become apparent that issues arising in one of these domains can apply equally to the other. This thesis has concentrated in the work of unpaid, untrained church interpreters, whose work has historically gone largely ignored until the last decade by both academia and the profession. Yet, if it appears that this same range of organisational attitudes is present in other forms of interpreting, it would show that such work is of direct relevance to professionals as it provides a self-contained but repeated context in which such patterns can be uncovered. It may therefore be possible to extend this theoretical framework by testing it in the context of other repeated events, such as parliamentary sessions, annual general meetings, or even court hearings. Beginning with repeated events in which interpreters can be expected to build up familiarity with the prevailing attitudes and ideology of the organisation would allow the posited link between integral interpreting and certain expectations of interpreters to be tested further. It would also provide valuable data on the suggestion that incidental interpreting may be the default view, a view which is only changed by exposure to integral interpreting.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This chapter will bring together the key findings of the thesis, beginning with those that are most directly linked to the research question. It will then examine some of the theoretical and methodological implications of the findings and process of this thesis. Following that, attention will turn to the limitations of this study, concentrating on its sample sizes and scope. The last section will offer suggestions for future work.

9.1 Key findings

The aim of this thesis was to provide an empirically and theoretically sound account of the driving factors underlying stakeholder expectations of interpreters. The starting point of this investigation was that recent research had suggested that there were methodological weaknesses in existing stakeholder expectations research leading to a lack of clarity as to the extent to which previous findings actually reflected the views of stakeholders. In an attempt to produce more robust results, two hypotheses were formed on the basis of newer empirical work and established theory. Firstly, it was hypothesised that expectations are composite, comprising both uncontextualised and event-specific expectations, and that the contours of these expectations can be affected by the context in which interpreting takes place. The second hypothesis was that one particular aspect of this context, the perceived hypertext skopos of the event, would be the strongest determining factor of stakeholder expectations. In the data analysis and subsequent discussion, however, it was argued that understanding an organisation's approach and attitude to interpreting offers a much more robust means of explanation. In terms of the initial research question, it has therefore been argued that hypertext skopos affects stakeholder expectations of interpreters only to a very limited and indirect extent.

Given that the specific form of interpreting studied was church interpreting, these two hypotheses were supplemented by a theoretical framework derived from empirical work on church interpreting and theoretical and empirical work on sermons, the most prominent source texts in these contexts. In both literatures, it was found that there is good reason to posit a link between expectations of sermons and expectations of the interpreters who partner in their performance. Central among the justifications for this position was the single

performance hypothesis, derived from the work of Cécile Vigouroux (2010) and used as an explanatory theory for the findings of other church interpreting studies. This hypothesis posits that, rather than the source and target texts of interpreted sermons being viewed as independent, in church interpreting, they are viewed as comprising a single multilingual performance.

Taken alongside the hypotheses generated on the basis of Interpreting Studies literature, this single performance hypothesis allowed the creation of a single relational model that attempted to explain and even predict stakeholder expectations of interpreters on the basis of their perceived hypertext skopos and their expectations of the source texts. This model was subjected to statistical testing and was used as the basis of thematic coding and analysis of qualitative data.

The statistical testing method used on the surveys was Partial Least Squares Path Modelling, chosen for its sample size requirements and its ability to integrate item validity testing and modelling of the relationships between latent variables. Results from this analysis not only suggested the weak power of the hypertext skopos sketched out earlier but also suggested that the items used in much of Interpreting Studies to investigate stakeholder expectations may not be fit for purpose. Correlations also suggested that stakeholders' uncontextualised and event-specific expectations of interpreters may be much more closely linked than seemed evident in earlier work.

The qualitative data, from interviews and participant observations, supported these findings and suggested reasons behind them. Once again, little evidence was found for the hypertext skopos being a fundamental variable underlying expectations of interpreters. It was the qualitative data, however, that indicated the usefulness of investigating the positioning of interpreting within a given organisation, with both interviews and participant observation notes illustrating how differently IEN and CLW viewed interpreting as a function. In IEN, interpreting was seen as necessary but this necessity did not lead to it being valued as anything more than a communicative channel. This view was therefore labelled "incidental interpreting". In CLW, on the other hand, interpreting was viewed as both necessary and valuable, given its ability to facilitate church integration and growth. Interpreting here was very much to the fore and it was seen to be so valuable that even senior church leaders would happily interpret when the need arose. This view was labelled "integral interpreting". A third

view, representing occasions where interpreting was not strictly necessary but was deemed to be valuable to the organisation, was given the label “symbolic interpreting”.

The possibility that clients can move from incidental to integrated interpreting seems to have found qualified support in the views of audience members at the CLW conference, whose views occupied a median but incoherent point between these approaches. These views share common ground, in terms of the implicit contradictions between uncontextualised and event-specific expectations, with the findings of Şeyda Eraslan (2008, 2011). This led to the interim view that moving from the incidental to integral approach to interpreting means that audiences accept interpreters using more overt strategies at a given event before such acceptance leads to the need to revisit their generic, uncontextualised views of interpreting. The prevalence of views linked to incidental interpreting in the discourse of interpreters and interpreting associations found in the work of Ebru Diriker (2004, pp. 25–50) was taken as evidence that the incidental approach to interpreting is the default norm. I argued that this default norm may have negative repercussions for the profession, given the link between incidental interpreting and the work of interpreters being valued poorly. Conversely, it was suggested that the link between integral interpreting and the work of interpreters being valued strongly suggests that this approach to interpreting will be more useful for the profession.

9.2 Theoretical and methodological implications

As the theoretical and methodological implications of the findings of this study were discussed in detail in section 8.2.2, a summary will suffice here. The most obvious theoretical implication of the findings of this study is that skopos theory does not seem to provide an adequate basis upon which to explain or predict expectations of stakeholders. While Franz Pöchhacker’s model (1995, 2007) did seem to correctly predict a link between hypertext skopos and expectations of source texts and between expectations of source texts and expectations of interpreters, it was argued that this same pattern is more adequately described by viewing all three of these variables as manifestations of the values of the organisation in which the interpreted event takes place. Indeed, it was argued, on the basis of the unanticipated consistency of expectations of interpreters within a given organisation, that organisational values, and not the hypertext skopos, should become the basic level category for analyses of authentic interpreting.

The same consistency of expectations was used as evidence of the usefulness of classifying organisational attitudes according to the perceived value of interpreting to the organisation and the perceived need for this service. In this case, it would seem that the incidental/integral/symbolic interpreting triad forms a useful starting point, albeit one which throws up a series of theoretical problems. The most straightforward of these involves explaining why and how organisations and those within organisations change their approach to interpreting, exemplified in this thesis in the move from an incidental to an integral attitude to interpreting among attendees at the CLW conference. It was suggested that, on the individual level, such a shift comes about by exposure to integral interpreting but insufficient data was available to assess whether this was always the case.

A second and related theoretical problem revolves around the need to understand the connection between organisational values and the working relationship between speakers and interpreters, concretised in the data presented here by such acts as publicly praising interpreters and allowing them to function as quasi-independent agents of communication. While in this thesis integral interpreting was associated, almost without exception, with encouraging interpreters to take a more overt role and by expressing praise when they did so, there is no logical reason why this should always be the case.

One final theoretical issue raised by this triad is of direct importance to church interpreting, where the single performance hypothesis seems to be a useful explanatory theory for data discovered so far. Here, the existence of incidental and symbolic interpreting forces researchers to redefine key terms such as “co-preacher” and reassess the extent to which characterisations of church interpreting found in the literature are universal. Once again, this returns to the need to understand an instance of interpreting within the context in which it occurs, making the investigation of the interaction between interpreting and the values of a given church or Christian organisation a key requirement in future church interpreting research.

This same theoretical issue may have implications for research in the wider field of Interpreting Studies. It suggests that research that seeks to understand the interaction between interpreters and the other direct participants in the event will need to take account of how organisational views of interpreting help to define which interpreter behaviours are expected

or accepted. Organisations taking an incidental approach to interpreting may tacitly discourage the kind of overt interpreter interventions found in organisations taking an integral approach and vice-versa. While previous research has pointed to audience design (e.g. Napier, 2004), reducing personal implication in utterance (Diriker, 2004), or freeing up cognitive resources (Pym, 2008) as factors in interpreter decision-making, this integral/incidental/symbolic interpreting triad would deem organisational views of interpreting, as they may be understood by the interpreter, to be the overarching driving force behind interpreter decisions. In other words, this triad suggests that interpreters will tend to perform in a way that is coherent with the view of interpreting held by the organisations within which they work.

Before any such relationship can be tested, however, the terms ‘organisation’ and ‘organisational’ will need to be defined, as discussed in section 8.2.2.2. The organisations in which research was carried out for this thesis represent what appear to be relatively clear-cut cases, with the interpreting being managed centrally by those who hold other leadership positions in the same organisation and being carried out by existing members. In other forms of interpreting, it may be the case that the interpreting is managed by one party, carried out by another and produced to fulfil the needs of a third. For example, it is entirely possible to foresee a case where an interpreting agency manages interpreting commissioned by a national court system for a civil case involving two corporations. In such interpreting, research would be required to understand which organisational level – the agency, the court system or either of the corporations – is most salient and how they interact. In fact, in professional interpreting, it is entirely possible that an additional organisational level – that of the norms and standards promoted by professional associations – may also affect decision-making. If Interpreting Studies is to provide adequate theorisation of the factors behind expectations of interpreters and how these affect decision-making then such complex instances of interpreting will need to be analysed in detail.

The same triad that produced the theoretical need for analysis of such complex cases may also provide a way of simplifying this task in the early stages of research. The differences between integral, incidental and symbolic interpreting have been defined according to the extent to which the organisation – however this is defined – views interpreting as necessary and the perceived value given to it. Research into the relationship between organisational views of interpreting and stakeholder expectations could therefore begin with attempts to

understand the extent to which interpreting is represented as necessary and valuable in a given organisation or by each organisation in complex cases. The work of Diriker (2004, pp. 25–50) suggests that this might not always mean additional time on site given that some organisations, especially professional bodies for interpreters, produce publications and statements that explicitly state their views of interpreting. In interpreting commissioned by governments such as court or medical interpreting, data on such views of interpreting may be usefully drawn from any contracts, standards, or guidelines sent to those in charge of managing interpreting and/or to the interpreters themselves. One methodological result of this theoretical hypothesis is therefore that documentary research may be a useful precursor to field research, by providing data on what an organisation's publicly stated position on interpreting actually is.

In wider methodological terms, this study has problematized much of the historical work on the expectations of users and the views of interpreters. Results from statistical testing and qualitative data have both fundamentally challenged the usefulness of the survey items currently in use and have underscored once again the need for methods in stakeholder expectations to have a clear, sound theoretical underpinning. In addition, the difference between pilot and final results and the tendency for expectations in the two organisations to be based on entirely different foundational values led to the argument that the same survey items and terminology may not be valid in different sites. The methodological outcome of this is the need to use qualitative data as the precursor to quantitative data, at least until universally applicable categories of expectation can be found.

My binocular position as a researcher and participant has been foundational for this thesis too. In methodological terms, this has involved the recognition of both the advantages and challenges brought about by this position. Yet, if it is going to be important for authentic interpreting to be studied *in situ* then the presence and participatory status of the researcher will need to become a more prominent subject for discussion in Interpreting Studies as a whole. Certainly, if knowledge of organisational context is going to prove fundamental to the field, it is difficult to see how such contextual knowledge can be gained without actually spending time in the organisations studied, enough time perhaps for other researchers to experience the same “insider-outsider” position experienced by Cécile Vigouroux (2010, p. 346), with its inevitable conflicts and questions. In short, it would now seem untenable to attempt to study expectations of interpreters without at least trying to understand how

interpreting is represented and viewed by participants and interpreters in the organisation being researched. Once again, the key parts of such views seem to be the perceived need for interpreting and its perceived value to the organisation. Such theoretical and methodological challenges lead directly to reflections upon the limitations of this study and on the need for further research.

9.3 Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study are connected with three larger concerns. These are: scale, position and theory. In terms of scale, it is quickly apparent that the analysis of 64 survey responses, 10 interviews and 14 days of observations cannot pretend to any kind of universality. These data can provide only a limited snapshot of the views, practices and implicit theories of the organisations studied. Indeed, the choice to study two organisations, while allowing for the comparisons and much of the theoretical discussion found in this thesis presents an inherent limit in itself as it cannot be argued with any certainty that the processes, practices and views found in these organisations are equally present anywhere else, nor are they necessarily static within a given organisation. This research therefore represents a snapshot of the factors governing stakeholder expectations in two organisations at given moments in time.

This thesis therefore represents a choice to prioritise depth over breadth and to allow for shorter interviews and more limited surveys in order to reducing the perceived pressure and inconvenience on respondents. That being said, one of the ways in which the thesis could have been improved was by the researcher being more forward and pro-active in asking for interviews. This was especially the case in CLW, where opportunities like the interpreters' meeting could have been better leveraged for interviews and where better advanced planning could have led to more interviews with leaders and audience members. In short, while the need to balance the demands of research and relationships will continue to exist in field work and even more so at time-limited events such as conferences and church meetings, in this particular case, self-reflection has shown where this balance could be improved.

The data gathered does seem to provide enough depth and breadth for some interim conclusions to be reached, especially when data from different methods are combined. This

combination of data is in line with the decision to adopt a pragmatic position to both methods and analysis (see section 6.1) and has been profitable in this case. Thus, the weakness of scale can and has been counteracted to some degree by the careful combination of data from three separate methods to produce a composite picture. In addition, I have sought to stress that the conclusions reached in this thesis are interim and indicate useful future avenues of research and theorisation, rather than comprising a definitive view. That large portions of these conclusions are dedicated to attempts to re-theorise stakeholder expectations in the light of evident weaknesses in current methods is an indication of the scale of the challenges that face research in this area, challenges which this thesis has sought to foreground and specify in greater detail than hitherto available.

A further possible weakness of this thesis is my own position as both a researcher and participant. I have argued throughout this thesis that this weakness led to the need to foreground the possible effects of this position on data gathering, analysis and their interpretation. Yet, it may also serve as a strength as it points to a fundamental issue in field research in Interpreting Studies and a possible solution. If one of the main themes of this thesis has been the need to understand organisational values in order to understand how interpreting is viewed, then it would seem difficult to understand these values without personal presence within the organisation and the subsequent questions of self-positioning this entails. Such questions are by no means new to academia (see Armstrong, 1994, pp. 15–17 cited in section 3.3.2 for example) and have become common-place in research dealing with sign language interpreting (Dickinson, 2010, pp. 124–127; Wurm, 2010, pp. 92–93), yet it would seem that research on expectations of interpreters has tended to overlook this.

In parallel to the advice given by Hale and Napier on the self-positioning of the researcher vis-à-vis their work (2013, p. 213) and in response to Turner and Harrington's (2000) discussion of the power held by researchers and its responsible use, I have sought to be clear about my position as both a participant and researcher, including the ways this impacted my relationships with other participants in the study. While this no doubt had an effect on the data generated and how these data was analysed, this same weakness raises useful questions for future research on stakeholder expectations, since the presence of a researcher at an event makes them a stakeholder too. My attempts to reduce any deleterious effects of this position by interacting with existing literature on church interpreting and combining the results of

different methods may point to potentially useful strategies for other researchers facing such issues.

The final weakness would seem to be both a weakness of the study and of stakeholder expectations research as a whole – that of theoretical perspective. As explained in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.3, this area of research has historically struggled to relate itself meaningfully to theory. This lack of theoretical perspective has been cited as an explanation of the well-known methodological issues of extant work (e.g. Mack and Cattaruzza, 1995). In this study, such theoretical difficulties were evident in the perceived need to bring together theories and results from Interpreting Studies, Translation Studies and Theology. The theoretical framework was therefore built specifically for this study. As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that data would suggest places for improvement and that it would become evident that variables not covered by the framework would prove to be more important than previously assumed. Any weaknesses in the theoretical framework would therefore seem to be traceable back to the *ad hoc* nature of the underlying theory and the ongoing need to construct theory that adequately frames stakeholder expectations.

The flexibility of the design of this study was used as a way of helping to overcome some of these theoretical deficiencies. It is due to this flexibility that new and important variables, such as organisational values, were discovered and this flexibility allowed the iterative process of designing and redesigning tools to capture data that can be used for future theorisation. Work on honing the scenarios used in the interviews, for instance, revealed the need to discover situations that respondents would perceive as complex and meaningful. Similarly, testing new survey items helped to refine the wording and themes that were useful for revealing underlying links between categories of expectation.

While the attempts to resolve these weaknesses were made in the context of this specific study, they also point to the need for future work in both stakeholder expectations and church interpreting. The next and final section will discuss this work and how it might move advance knowledge in these two domains.

9.4 Future work

Throughout this thesis, certain avenues of future work have been suggested as ways of resolving the problems raised by the results of this study. First and foremost, despite over 25 years of work, it would seem that continued work on stakeholder expectations of interpreters will be necessary if scholarship is to help interpreters understand the contexts in which they work. What differentiates this call from previous appeals (see section 2.2.2) is that it is becoming increasingly clear that the focus of stakeholder expectations work should not be on the expectations themselves but on the underlying values and processes that produce and modify such expectations. The four main hypotheses found in the discussion of the data generated in this study – the single performance hypothesis; the differentiation between integral, incidental, and symbolic interpreting; the relationship between organisational attitudes to interpreting and certain sets of expectations; and the position of incidental interpreting as the default norm – all require to be tested in a range of contexts. In the case of the last hypothesis, research will be needed to draw a distinction between incidental interpreting as the default norm and the tendency for surveys in stakeholder expectations to favour such responses due to methodological flaws.

This requirement also points to the continued need for work to uncover reliable survey items for stakeholder expectations surveys or at least, as suggested in section 8.2.2.1, for work on how to produce reliable items for any given context. This study suggests that, for the moment at least, such contextual validity is probably the limit of what can be expected from research, with wider comparability and applicability coming later, once a common methodological toolkit has been agreed upon by the research community. Such contextual validity also underscores the need for stakeholder expectations research to become collaborative, with researchers working with (or even as) stakeholders to create tools that are both theoretically useful and contextually relevant.

This all implies that the future of stakeholder expectations research must necessarily be different from its past. The tendency towards assuming that the tools created by the researcher were valid for any given situation and the assumption that the data gathered using such tools were a true reflection of the situation on the ground need to be reversed. Future work will probably need to be much more sceptical and self-reflexive than much of the work covered in chapter 2.

Work in church interpreting, for its part, seems to require a process of theoretical challenge. Here, the single performance hypothesis, which seems to be prevalent in much work, has been problematized by the practices and ideology of IEN. It will therefore be necessary to widen the scope of church interpreting research to make the discovery of organisational attitudes to interpreting a standard part of the research process, especially when explanations for individual interpreter decisions are being sought.

While originally developed for church interpreting, it would seem that the proposed integral/incidental/symbolic interpreting triad would seem to be a useful starting point for the generation of the kinds of theoretical frameworks suggested by this study, no matter the particular context being studied. Future work could, for instance, look to investigate whether there is a consistent relationship between the centrality of interpreting and specific sets of expectations. This study has suggested that this centrality should not be described merely in terms of how much an organisation needs interpreting but the extent to which interpreting is viewed as valuable and is presented as being of high status.

Lastly, while this study mentioned in passing the bidirectional link between expectations of interpreters and interpreter behaviour, work remains to be done on how such expectations affect interpreter behaviour. Research could therefore impact interpreting practice by attempting to unpick the relationship between expectations of interpreters and their decision-making, following on from the work of Napier and Barker (2004) on the reasons for omissions. One helpful way to do this would be to return to a context in which expectations have already been mapped and collaborate with interpreters to explore the extent to which these expectations weigh on them as they respond to the performance of speakers. Such work would move stakeholder expectations work from theorising the expectations themselves to understanding their relevance to any given assignment – a move which is vital if researchers and interpreters alike are to see in stakeholder expectations research a source of useful insights.

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